Architecture for the Urban Poor, the 'New Professionalism' of 'Community Architects' and the Implications for Architectural Education: Reflections on Practice from Thailand

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I, Supitcha Tovivich, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

Conventional architectural practice and education has long been limited to serving a minority of the world's elite population. This research is interested in extending the boundaries of architectural practice and education. It sets out to explore the role of architects in addressing the emergence and growth of informal settlements which represent the majority of the built environment in most developing countries. It traces the transformation from a providing paradigm to a supporting paradigm in global housing policies for the urban poor which calls for a new role for architects and the architectural profession – the 'architecture of empowerment.' As a contribution to this paradigm shift, the research focuses on architectural design processes 'with' poor urban communities in Thailand as a case study. Reflections on the practice of NHA, CODI and CASE architects are examined and compared through an investigation of the relationship between their values, knowledge and skills, in order to understand not only the challenges faced in their practice, but also the implications for architectural education. The research illustrates that architects, who employ the architectural design process as an empowering tool for community members, work as 'reflective educators' encompassing the professional roles of 'provider', 'supporter' and 'catalyst'. The conditions underlining each role include (1) the architect's personal values, knowledge and skills; (2) organizational policies and supports; and (3) clients' values concerning participation and participatory design process. The research argues that the knowledge and skills of the architect as provider remain important, but not enough to deal effectively with the challenges posed by informal settlements. Also crucial are the new architectural values, knowledge and skills related to the roles of supporter and catalyst which relate respectively, to design to support community members to make their own decisions; and empower them to believe in themselves, collectively act for themselves and reflect on their actions. This calls for a transformation in the power relations between architects and their clients in the design process, and when addressed in an 'alternative architectural education', also calls for a transformation in the power relations between architectural tutors and their students in the classroom and design studio, and the promotion of a reflective educational practice

Chapter 1: Introduction

Conventional architectural practice and education has long been limited to serving a minority of the world's population. To engage architects in the design of people's houses has often been seen as unnecessary or extravagant. Only about 10% of the population has the resources to commission the kind of buildings the 'academically trained architect' has learned to design – and only 10% of them would think of engaging architects (the others would appoint civil engineers or contractors directly). Therefore, architects merely interface with the built environment in society for about 1% of the population (Correa, 1997). The researcher is interested in extending the boundary of architectural practice and education to make it relevant to the built-environment problems of the majority of the world's population.

This research draws upon the researcher's previous study on "Occupied Spaces and Materials Used in Urban Poor Houses."[1] (Tovivich, 2002) The previous study explored the unfamiliar reality of informal settlements and their 'creative' use of space, materials and construction. The researcher questioned to what extent this previous research could be criticized as being romanticized and focussed on the aesthetics of vernacularised modernism. This is discussed in Chapter 3. Therefore, this PhD research will focus on the changing role of the architect in dealing with the reality of informal settlements. The aim of this research is to add to the existing body of theoretical knowledge on participation and empowerment in the architectural design process and practice 'with' poor urban communities. Thailand will serve as an example to explore the challenges of these concepts in architectural practice. In this regard, there are only two groups of Thai architects who work in urban poor housing and participatory design. There are even fewer academic resources focusing on the reflection of alternative architectural practice.

> "[P]rofessional education must be reformed in order to produce the new professionals capable of initiating professional reform; but where are the professionals who will reform professional education? And where is the theory and the competence for the practice of reform?" (Argyris and Schon 1974: 145)

Thus, a second aim of this research is to fill the void in empirical studies on alternative architectural practice and education in to address the challenges posed by informal settlements in Thailand.

[1] The researcher had studied case studies of 10 houses in informal settlements in Bangkok and concluded that despite constraints on location, land, budget, time, construction tools and materials, the urban poor are capable of expressing their own creativity in space adaptability. The urban poor applied low-cost or free materials, basic structures and local construction skills in building houses that met their basic needs. In order to survive, the urban poor have to be 'creative' in solving their housing problems under difficult conditions.

The transformation of global housing policies for the urban poor from a providing paradigm, in which the state and the experts perceived themselves as providers and the urban poor were the passive recipients, to a supporting paradigm defines new roles and relationships amongst the state, the private sector, civil society and the experts. This research is interested in exploring the new roles of architects under the current phase of housing policies for the urban poor, in which the state and the experts become supporters and the poor become active agents, solving their own problems and making decisions for their own situation and future. People-participation and empowerment in the process of housing production are central to the current phase of housing policies for the urban poor. It is important to acknowledge that the jargon 'participation' and 'empowerment' cannot simply be transplanted into architectural practice and theory, because the core of the theory disagrees with the conventional role of architects as providers. In response to the current phase of housing policies for the urban poor, Blackburn and Holland (1998a) proposed that in the participatory planning process, development practitioners should act as 'catalysts' and 'supporters'. However, there is little clear explanation of the values, knowledge and skills for each role. This research explores the three main roles of architects in approaches to urban poor housing – (1) providers, (2) supporters, and (3) catalysts.

The aim of this research is to explore how to bridge the gap between conventional architectural practice and education and the challenges posed by slums by means of a new architectural 'professionalism' by focused incremental enquiry. The formal housing provision for the urban poor in Thailand is implemented by the National Housing Authority (NHA), which NHA architects are responsible for site planning and designing standardized residential units in a non-participatory manner. However, there are quantitative and qualitative gaps in the work of NHA architects. In parallel, the Community Organizations Development Institute (CODI) and Community Architects for Shelter and Environment (CASE) proposed alternative solutions conducting participatory site planning and designing new houses with the poor urban communities and a largely *ad hoc* alternative architectural education in Thailand has emerged in support. From the researcher's observation, there is resistance to the development of a new professionalism and alternative architectural education at scale. In this 'new architectural professionalism' of CODI and CASE architects, there is a blurring of the boundary and understanding between the roles of the architect as provider, supporter and catalyst. This new professionalism cannot go to scale until the boundary between these three roles of the architect are defined and the resistance to the development of the new professionalism and alternative architectural education have been addressed, understood and challenged.

The research question is, in response to the theories of Freire's 'true education' (1972) and Schon's reflective practice (1983, 1987), how do the 'alternative architectural

education' and the 'new architectural professionalism' – values, knowledge and skills – associated with the roles of the architect as provider, supporter and catalyst change as participation and empowerment is integrated into architectural responses to the provision of housing for the poor and architectural education? The sub-questions include the enquiry concerning the relationship between the values, knowledge and skills of architects involved in the provision of conventional state housing for the poor and the practice of 'community architects' and the aspects of architectural education which need to be changed in order to support the 'new professionalism' embodied in 'community architects'.

In this research, the 'new architectural professionalism' is encompassed by a new set of values, knowledge and skills in the practices of architects who are working 'with' urban poor communities and who prioritize, integrate and improvise with 'participation' and 'empowerment' in their architectural practice in an *ad hoc* manner without being officially trained in this approach in architectural school. Further, this research defines 'alternative architectural education' as the integration of the principles of the 'new architectural professionalism' into new architectural content and the new pedagogy which promotes reflective learning and practice.

The researcher employs Freire's (1972) ideas on empowerment to shape the role of architects as supporters and catalysts. Freire's (1972) theory of *conscientisacion* is employed as the main theoretical framework, focusing on the learning process of an individual in perceiving their social, political and economic contradictions and in taking action against the oppressive elements of their reality. His 'true education' looks at education as a means toward a deeper understanding of the situation in which the oppressed live, with an attempt to encourage them to take action to transform the situation that oppresses them. Freire's idea helps to shape both the new architectural professionalism and alternative architectural education in this research. Building on Freire's notions of empowerment and education, 'theory of action' (Argyris and Schon, 1974) is employed as an analytical tool to shape the theoretical framework and the research methodology. The theory distinguishes espoused-theory from theories-in-use and at the same time argues that theory cannot be independently analysed from practice and *vice versa*. Furthermore, Schon's (1983) theory of reflective practice helps evaluate the practice of the architects, who are the main study population of this research.

There are five study populations in the research – (1) the architects who are designing 'for' and designing 'with' the urban poor communities; (2) the clients of the architects' projects; (3) architectural educators; (4) representatives from architectural professional associations; and (5) selected housing and alternative architectural education experts. Architects from the NHA represent the architects who are working for a governmental

body designing 'for' urban poor communities and architects from the CODI and CASE represent the architects who are designing 'with' poor urban communities. The latter is the focus of this research as it represents the 'new architectural professionalism' as defined by the researcher. While CODI is a public organization which receives fund mainly from the Government, CASE is a private architectural firm which work mainly on community development projects. It is important to point out that although NHA architects do not work as a part of the 'new architectural professionalism', exploring their role was greatly useful to unravel the interrelationship between the roles of providers, supporters and catalysts. Although each role has their own distinct value, their knowledge and skills overlap. Finally, the research compared projects from the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme implemented by NHA architects providing ready-to-occupy housing units for low-income people across Thailand, with the recently launched nation-wide participatory slum upgrading programme, the *Baan Mankong* Programme implemented by CODI and CASE architects. The four chosen housing projects are NHA *Baan Eua Arthorn: Rangsit Klong 3* Community (NHAPJ), the CODI *Baan Mankong: Klong Lumnoon* Community (CODIPJ01), the CODI *Baan Mankong: Suan Phlu Pattana* Community (CODIPJ02) and the CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* Community (CASEPJ).

The research methodology employed is qualitative and inductive using cross-sectional research design and triangulation by mixing various research methods. Semi-structured interviews are conducted with all study populations. The researcher also used the observer-as-participants method in the live projects of the architects under study in order to gain a better understanding of their practice. Content analysis was also employed through the use of a 'photo analysis' method with the architect and the educator groups. The method was used to help the researcher gain more spontaneous opinions from them.

This research is divided into 10 chapters. Chapter 2 discusses the changing relations between architecture and housing policy for the urban poor. The different types of architects are defined under the different context of urban poor housing policy they belong to. Moreover, the chapter discusses the duplicity of development jargon, such as 'participation' and 'empowerment' concerning their romanticisation and exploitation criticisms in order to address challenges of the new architectural professionalism under the current eclectic approach to urban poor housing policy.

Chapter 3 explores the new professional values, knowledge and skills of architects underlying the practice of the 'architecture of empowerment'. It discusses the changes of architectural professionalism from the conventional to the new architectural professionalism. Examples of alternative architectural education are studied in order to understand the new architectural content and pedagogic mechanism. The aim of this research is to learn and reflect on the *ad hoc* practice of community architects concerning their professionalism. Thus,

the ‘evaluation of theories of action’ (Argyris and Schon, 1974) is employed as a conceptual framework.

Chapter 4 lays out the research methodology. It argues that there is a need to ‘theorize’ – to make the theories-in-use of the practitioners’ practice explicit. The research values the knowledge that emerges from the ground of practice of community architects. At the same time, it is important to reflect on this practice-based knowledge by using the theoretical framework emerging from the literature review – the ‘evaluation of theories of action’ (Argyris and Schon, 1974) – as an analytical tool. This chapter starts with hypothesis and research questions. It explains study populations, research methods, sampling and criteria, data analysis, ethical considerations and strengths and limitations.

Chapter 5 compares the development of different types of architects in different historic periods and different approaches to urban poor housing in Thailand – the 1930s-1950s, the 1960s-mid 1970s, the mid 1970s-1980s and the 1990s to the present. In each section, the establishment and development of NHA, CODI and CASE are discussed. The chapter addresses quantitative and qualitative gaps in housing policies for the urban poor, which the NHA failed to fill and challenges encountered by the CODI and CASE in attempting to fill those gaps.

Chapter 6 looks at the findings from the fieldwork which might shed light on the emerging values underlying the new architectural ‘professionalism.’ The chapter explores and compares the different values of NHA, CODI and CASE architects. Their espoused theory and theory-in-use are compared at individual and organizational levels to explore the congruence of their theory in action and to examine their different roles. The chapter assesses the different values of the study population around four themes - perceptions about ‘slums’ of the architects, perceptions about ‘participation’ among architects and their clients, perceptions of the architects’ role and the architects’ approach to learning in order to explore to what extent their practice is reflective.

Chapter 7 looks at the findings from the fieldwork in order to shape emerging knowledge underlying the new architectural ‘professionalism.’ The ‘espoused knowledge’ and ‘knowledge-in-use’ of NHA, CODI and CASE architects are compared. The knowledge of the new professionalism is divided into architectural design, socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge. Finally, this chapter examines the effectiveness of the architects’ knowledge in various ways: design knowledge is explored through the clients’ satisfaction with the design of the house; the architects’ socio-cultural knowledge is examined through questioning to what extent the design meets the needs of the clients considering their livelihoods and lifestyle; political-institutional knowledge is explored through an understanding

of the community bonds and people-organization development which emerged through or after the design process.

Chapter 8 looks at the findings from the fieldwork in order to understand the new architectural skills in relation to the ‘architecture of empowerment.’ The chapter argues that there is an extra skill which distinguishes conventional architects from the new architectural professionalism – participatory design skills. This chapter illustrates, compares and discusses NHA, CODI and CASE architects’ non-participatory / participatory and their skills related to design, socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge.

While the previous chapters explore the new values, knowledge and skills of the ‘new professionalism of community architects from the practice of CODI and CASE architects with a comparison to the practice of NHA architects, Chapter 9 examines the barriers and challenges to integrate the new architectural professionalism of CODI and CASE architects into alternative architectural education.

Finally, Chapter 10 defines a clear boundary between the values, knowledge and skills of each role – provider, supporter and catalyst. The implications for alternative architectural education are discussed with suggestions of how to move forward from this research in order to scale up a new architectural discipline comprising the integration of the new architectural professionalism and alternative architectural education.

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Chapter 2: Approaches to Urban Poor Housing and the Architect: towards the Duplicity of Empowerment

> "[T]o carry out a revolution *for* the people… is equivalent to carrying out a revolution *without* the people, because the people are drawn into the process by the same methods and procedures used to oppress them." (Freire and Ramos, 1972: 108)

1. Introduction

According to Grimond (2005), in 1800, only 3% of the population was urbanized. Today, more than half the world's population live in a town or city. Rapid urban migration, especially after World War II, resulted from 'push' and 'pull' factors – cities enticed increasing numbers of people with the promise of more jobs, better education, social services, health facilities and city housing (Lloyd, 1979). In 1950 the only 2 cities that could claim more than 10 million inhabitants were New York and Tokyo (United Nations, 2004). Today there are 20 such mega-cities. Unlike before, most of them are in the poorer parts of the world including Mexico, India, Brazil, Argentina, Indonesia, China, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Egypt, Nigeria and the Philippines. Due to a natural population increase in most key cities, the phenomenon of urbanization in 2005 affected about 49.2% of the world population, 75% of which occurred in the more developed regions, 43% in the less developed regions and 27% in the least developed regions (United Nations, 2004). In 2001, 924 million people or 31.6% of the world's urban population lived in slums. In other words, one out of three urban dwellers (or one out of six people worldwide) lived in a slum (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003, Garau et al., 2005). The majority of them were in the poorer regions and accounted for 78.2%of the urban population in the least developed countries and 43% in the less developed regions, in contrast to 6% of the urban population living in slums in the more developed regions. In the next 30 years the global number of slum dwellers is expected to increase to about 2 billion if no firm and concrete action is taken to address that trend (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003). UN projections have suggested that over the next 30 years all of the world's population growth will be in the urban areas of low- and middle-income countries (Garau et al., 2005). In other words, the majority of the world's poor will be city dwellers living in the least developed countries. Clearly, the number of the world's population, who live in 'slums' is huge.

The Millennium Summit of the United Nations in September 2000 established a series of goals for the 21st century based on policy documents drafted during the previous decade which include *Agenda 21* and *the Habitat Agenda*[1] (United Nations Human Settlements

[1] A Road Map was established with a set of eight global goals (the Millennium Development Goals) and 18 targets with 32 indicators. The goals emcompass such aims as combating poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation and discrimination against women. It also calls for commitments in human rights, good governance and democracy (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003).

Programme, 2003). The most relevant target of the Millennium Development Goals to slums is Target 11 which aims to achieve a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. This specific target was envisioned under Goal 7 of "Ensuring Environmental Sustainability." Success indicators for this target are an increased proportion of the urban population with access to improved sanitation and an increased proportion of households with secure tenure (Garau et al., 2005, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003). Evidently, slum challenges are very important and urgent issues at the local and global level.

At first, a 'slum' was perceived as the negative consequence of the rapid growth of industrialised cities. The term 'slum' had been introduced in the 1820s and was used to identify

> "[t]he poorest quality housing and the most unsanitary conditions; a refuge for marginal activities including crime, 'vice' and drug abuse; and a likely source for many epidemics that ravaged urban areas – a place apart from all that was decent and wholesome." (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003:9)

At the end of the 19th century, slums continued to be perceived as having the characteristics of a lower class, squalid, wretched, poor, dirty, degraded quality of life and often 'vicious' population. The Housing Reform Movement in England during the 1880s changed the definition of the term to a relatively less awkward one as 'a house materially unfit for human habitation.' Between the 1890s and 1930s, slums were authorized to be eradicated through the imposition of technical and legal standards. At the same time, social movements tried to rename the socially stigmatised characteristics of 'slum' with words such as 'neighbourhoods' or 'communities.' (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003) The traditional definition of 'slum' included housing areas that were once respectable or desirable, but have since deteriorated as original dwellers have moved out to new and better areas in the city – typical examples are inner-city slums. The idea of perceiving a slum as an area filled with vices that required a focused imposition of physical and technical controls from the experts continued to influence many professionals towards the idea of urban utopias and 'conventional housing policy' (Fiori et al., 2000) until the later half of the twentieth-century.

The urban utopias are the ancestors of the public architects who played the role as providers designing standardized low-cost housing for the poor. Ebenezer Howard's Garden City (1898), Frank Lloyd Wright's Broad Acres (1932), and Le Corbusier's Radiant City (1935) are great examples, which reflected the continuity of the idea of 'social engineering' from the 19th century in response to the modern regime of the time. Their practice nurtured values of architects as experts. In their utopias, slums would disappear. Only a well-planned, compact,

efficient, healthy and beautiful city was shown. Despites differences in age, personality, approach, and goals in their planning, their different utopias have many things in common (Fishman, 1977; Scott, 1998; Jacobs, 1961). First, the three architects/planners shared the belief that a radical reconstruction of the cities would solve not only the urban crisis but also the social crisis. It reflected the notion of an urban planner as a powerful designer who could change the world and diminish all social problems merely through their utopian visions of a total environment design. Second, instead of gradual improvement, they preferred the wholly transformed urban environment. Third, they believed that the industrial society was inherently harmonious. "Howard, Wright, and Le Corbusier each filled his ideal city with *his* buildings; *his* sense of proportion and colour; and most profoundly, *his* social values" (originally emphasized in Fishman, 1977: 29-30). Jacobs (1961) saw Le Corbusier's Radiant City as nothing but a reflection of his ego and an expression of his own self-achievement. But could imagination alone really change the world? And how could an architect/planner hope to impose his or her ideas on history? (Fishman, 1977)

Jencks (2002) broadly categorized architects in terms of three systems of operation. First, the 'private architect' refers to an old system of private architectural production operating largely before World War I where architects generally designed slowly and responsively to the needs of the users influenced by the 'mini-capitalist economy'. The design is normally small scale and the architect acts as an expert friend to the client. The second is the 'public architect', which refers to architectural production for the welfare-state. This type of architect acts as an 'anonymous doctor' as Jencks calls it. His or her design is generally impersonal, anonymous and low-cost. Finally, the third system refers to the 'developer architect' whose works are funded by a capitalist agency whose monopoly creates huge investments and supports large size projects. This type of professional architect is dominant today, not only in practice, but also in the sphere of architectural education. In addition to the categories offered by Jencks, there is a fourth type of architect – the 'community architect' who works 'with' local communities. The idea is not new. It emerged in the 1960s-1970s from the idea of participatory design influenced by advocacy and participatory planning. There are many challenges facing a community architect nowadays, because there is duplicity in the words 'community participation' and 'empowerment'. These issues are discussed in the next sections.

Table 2-1 below illustrates the changing paradigm in global housing policies for the urban poor. Different perceptions of the government and the experts around 'slums' reflect different approaches of urban poor housing policies in the transition from a 'providing' to 'supporting' paradigm. The early stages of the supporting paradigm concern the withdrawal of control by the government and more participation from civil society and the market. The current stage of the supporting paradigm concerns the partnerships amongst the state, civil society and the market. Compared to Jencks (2002), this research argues that different

approaches in urban poor housing policies mean the emergence of five different types of architects – (1) conventional architects[2], (2) public architects, (3) architects who are working under the period of 'public-meet-community sector,' (4) architects in the era of 'withdrawing state,' and (5) the new professional community of architects in the current phase – as defined by the researcher and are discussed below. The researcher argues that changes in the current roles of architects regarding the problems of urban poor housing and challenges posed by slums mean a call for a new architectural professionalism in development practice.

It is important to note that many academic sources (Chambers, 1998, Blackburn and Holland, 1998a, Holland and Blackburn, 1998, Hamdi, 1996) raise the issue of the professionalism of development practitioners. Despite the great importance of the study of the professionalism of development practitioners, there are very few academic sources that explore the connection between debates of the primacy of agency and the behaviour and attitudes of practitioners.

> "In earlier decades, it was local people who had to change. Now the imperative has been reversed. The finger now points back to us – development professionals… The experiences presented here drive us to an uncomfortable truth: that the quality of development depends on what sort of people we [development practitioners] are and what we do." (Chambers, 1998: xvi)

In a participatory planning process, the experts and/or practitioners "act as catalysts for local people to decide what to do with the information and analysis they generate…[at the same time, practitioners] do their best to support or follow up on those actions that local people have decided on…" (Blackburn and Holland, 1998a: 6). The roles of development practitioners as 'supporter' and 'catalyst' are mentioned, although with little clear explanation of each role's values, knowledge and skills. The boundary between the two roles of supporter or catalyst is also ambiguous. Moreover, high-quality training for development practitioners which is perceived as an essential feature of scaling up (Blackburn and Holland, 1998b) is rarely explored. Blackburn (1998: 171) calls for alliances between theorist and practitioners.

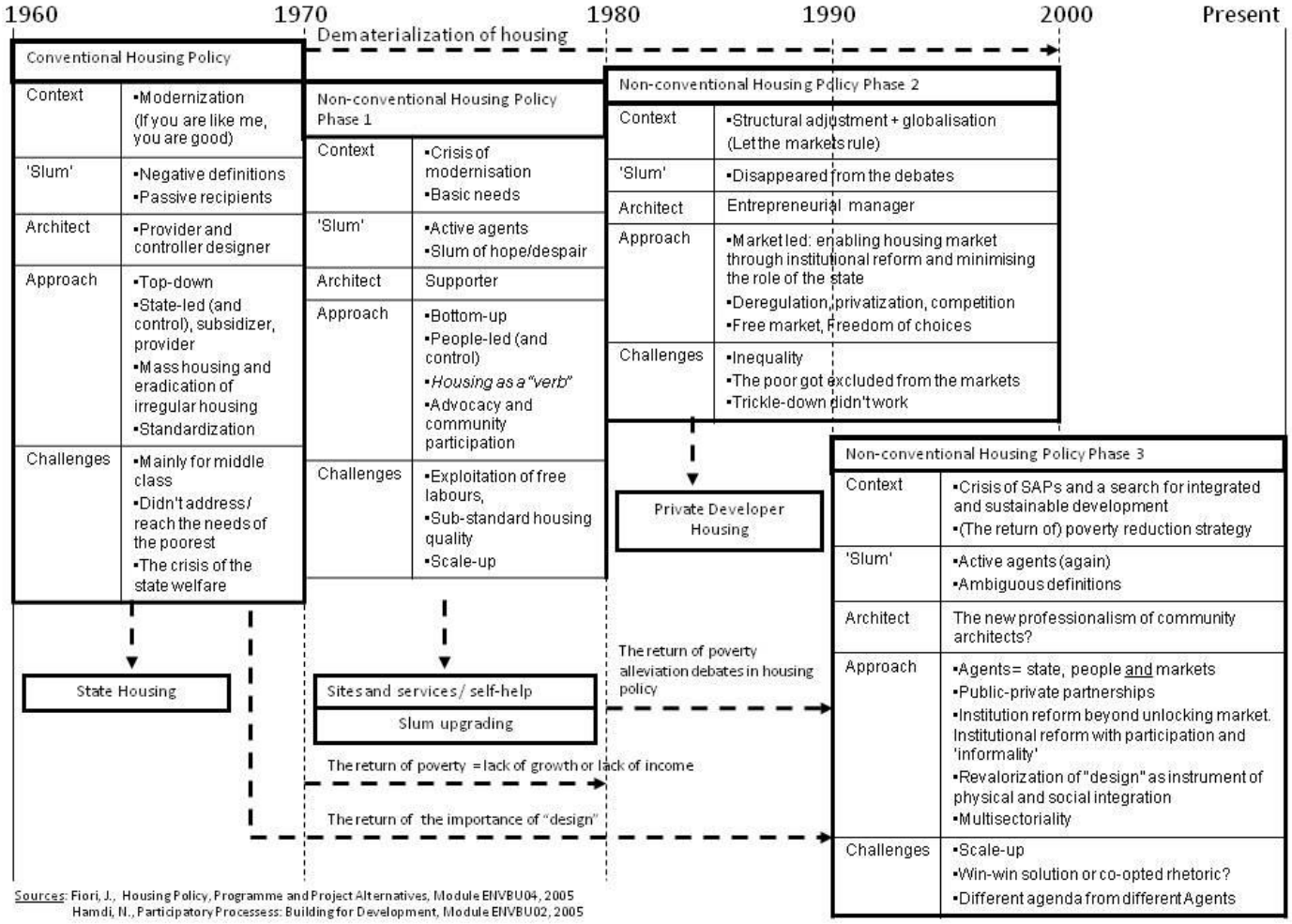
> "[Development practitioners] have too little time to reflect systematically on their activities. Academics can perhaps offer new perspectives and concepts to help them view reality in a new light… it is their [the practitioners'] knowledge of development practice, their perceptions, which should form the basis of the kind of academic thinking which will have the most useful outcomes."

[2] The researcher defines 'conventional architects' as those who design for the powerful class or the market. At the same time, it is important to state that the researcher follows Fiori et al.'s (2000) definition of the term 'conventional housing policy' as state-led housing policy.

As illustrated in Table 2-1, the architects' roles vary according to different housing policies for the urban poor. Respectively, the roles are shifted from the role of architects as 'providers' under the 'Conventional Housing Policy' (Fiori et al., 2000) to 'supporters' and 'entrepreneurial manager' in the later phases. In relation to the current phase of the housing policies for the urban poor, the role of architects remains unclear. This research contributes to filling this gap.

This chapter will first discuss the changing relations in architecture within the context of changes in housing policy for the urban poor. The different types of architects emerge within different urban poor housing policy approaches. Second, the chapter discusses the duplicity of development jargon in relation to the notion of participation and empowerment in order to address the challenges of the new architectural professionalism.

Table 2-1 Housing Policies for the Urban Poor



Sources: Fiori, J., Housing Policy, Programme and Project Alternatives, Module ENVBU04, 2005
Hamdi, N., Participatory Processess: Building for Development, Module ENVBU02, 2005

2. Changing Relations in Architecture towards Housing Policy for the Urban Poor

2.1 The Development of Conventional Architects

The wealthy classes have always been consumers of the art of architecture since the Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Greek epochs (Salama, 1986, Kostof, 1977). What was considered 'architecture' were palaces, temples, churches, mosques, or other buildings serving royal and religious functions. Under the Medieval guild system, architecture was viewed as a craft. This designated architects to be recognized as master masons. All of this began to change in the early 15th century. Leone Battista Alberti wrote in the middle of 15th century that

> [a]n architect is not a carpenter or joiner… the mature worker being no more than an instrument to the architect, who by sure and wonderful skill and method is able to complete his work… To be able to do this; he must have a thorough insight into the noblest and most curious sciences. (Ettlinger, 1977:98)

Alberti's ideal of architecture was the design in which nothing can be added or taken away without spoiling it. This requires the architect to be responsible or a 'controller' over every detail of his or her design. At the beginning of the Renaissance period, when many new architectural forms were created, the new role of the architect as 'the artist architect' emerged. At this time, the architect did not necessarily have adequate knowledge and training in masonry or stone cutting (Prak 1984, 1986 as cited in Salama, 1995). Thus, they would work with the master builders to whom they entrusted the implementation of their drawings. This period implies a split between handicraft and design; when the architect's work as technical crafts became liberal arts (Salama, 1995). In parallel, Jackson (1995) noted that the architects's belief that their works were of transcendental significance was cultivated during the Renaissance, when architects elevated themselves above craftsmen and sought equality with courtiers. In contrast, the Greek term *arkhitekton* meant, at least initially as Herodotus first used the term in the fifth century B.C., nothing more than master-carpenter.

Jencks (1977) argues that today post-modern architecture tries to challenge the elitism of modern architecture by extending the language of architecture in many different ways. The idea of designing architecture to speak to both the elite and the layman on the street was put forth. In other words, post-modern architecture concerns both architects and some minorities, "who care about specifically architectural meanings, and to the public at large, or the local inhabitants, who care about other issues concerned with comfort, traditional building and a way of life" (Jenks, 1977: 6). Post-modern architecture is rather hybrid and has a pluralistic character. In theory, post-modern architecture seemed to have widened the space of users in the architectural design process although for the poor, it is not especially

explicit. In practice, it seems as if there has been little evidence of change. The architect, not the people, is still at the core of the design process. In other words, the determining role of the architect remains – regardless if they are called 'modern' or 'post-modern'. According to Jackson (1995), the fall of the modern 'style' changed the result but left the method intact.

However, Ward (1996: 38) stated that under the post-modern architectural movement, "the classic notion of an idealized internationalism connoting a superior and universalizing existence…began to lose ground" and the role of the expert was challenged by the dignity of the ordinary person. Extensive criticism to Ward's position is found in the writings of Jane Jacobs, Christopher Alexander, Robert Venturi, Charles Jencks and Peter Eisenman, to which Ward responded that, those writings "still clung to the importance of the expert analyst, who alone was able to conduct the diagnosis and administer the treatment to a grateful and naïve public" (Ward, 1996: 39). Ward claimed Robert Venturi's populist cultural book, "Learning from Las Vegas (1972)", was a deceitful document. "In presuming to know on behalf of its occupants what the building will mean, Venturi's universalizations inherently disempower the members of the common culture that they presume to celebrate" (Ward, 1996: 53). Additionally, with Eisenman's deconstruction theory, Ward argued that Eisenman benefits from the mystification of his theory and he uses it as a powerful 'art defense' when talking to his clients.

Today's mainstream architects mainly serve capitalist entrepreneurs. It seems as though mainstream architects today are occupied with work in Jenck's third system – the developer architect, despite the fact that there is an enormous need for the other systems. Image making and aesthetic differentiation are keys to architectural production and architects are pressured to create outstanding forms and styles (Dutton and Mann, 1996). In parallel, there were movements of public and community architects simultaneously emerged under different phases of urban poor housing policy as discussed below.

2.2 Public Architects

This type of architect works for the state. The approach of their practice changed through different phases of governmental policy toward urban poor housing. With regard to the urbanization of the time, the concept of 'social engineering' in the 19th century and the work of the three urban utopians - Ebenezer Howard's, Frank Lloyd Wright's and Le Corbusier's – was the start of the role of the architect as a 'provider'. Referring to Table 2-1 above, this approach is encompassed under the title of 'Conventional Housing Policy' of the state (Fiori et al., 2000) or the 'providing paradigm' (Hamdi, 1995), which was the dominant housing policy during the 1950s and 1960s in both developed and developing countries. Their approach was based on standardization, rationalization and heavily subsidized low-cost

housing programmes by the state for slum dwellers. The state was the dominant paternalistic agent and slum dwellers played a very small role, seen merely as passive recipients. The perception of the slum as a reflection of the poorest quality housing with inadequate basic services which comprised of networks of vice and potential health epidemics motivated the government's response to eradicate, standardize, and 'modernize' slums. This approach was based on the assumptions that slums were an illegal, but temporary phenomenon which could be overcome by economic growth. The negation of the reality of slums in cities (e.g. slums were not placed on land use maps), however, leads to the refusal of the rights of slum dwellers (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003).

Conventional housing policy in many developing countries was shaped by theories of modernisation – the transformation of 'traditional' to 'modern' values – and desires to imitate the growth of the developed countries. The result was a construction of modern ready-to-occupy housing units and the establishment of financial systems for the housing programme. Furthermore, the problems associated with conventional housing estates was not solely a product of bad architectural design but embedded in its very ideology which perceived urban poverty as the expression of a lack of modernisation that could only be eradicated by economic growth." (Fiori et al., 2000)

Initiated under a rational comprehensive planning regime, the approach has embedded a type of professionalism that puts the expert at the core of problem solving and makes planning about what the expert thinks is best for the society. Here, the expert is a prescriber, controller, and designer, seizing power. As stated by Jacobs (1965),

> "planners and architects of city design…have gone to great pains to learn what the saints and sages of modern orthodox planning have said about how cities *ought* to work and what *ought* to be good for people and business in them. They take this with such devotion that when contradictory reality intrudes, threatening to shatter their dearly won learning, they must shrug reality aside." (Jacobs, 1961: 64)

In relation to the new building technology of public housing under the conventional housing policy, Gropius (1919 as cited in Pawley, 1971) proposed images of a new form of housing by advocating modular design, prefabrication, mass-production and design rationalization as keys to the housing problem. The mass-production techniques for Henry Ford's automobiles also had a profound effect on modern architectural theory through industrialized building. The ideal clients of the modern architects were 'modern people' who, as Gropius defined, no longer lived in historical, but modern times; and who also needed a 'modern home'. Gropius (1926 in 'Principles of Bauhaus Production [Dessau] as cited in Conrads, 1970: 96) noted that

> "[o]n the whole, the necessities of life are the same for the majority of people ... The machine – capable of producing standardized products – is an effective device, which by means of mechanical aids – steam and electricity – can free the individual from working manually for the satisfaction of his [sic] daily needs and can provide him [sic] with mass-produced products that are cheaper and better than those manufactured by hand. There is no danger that standardization will force a choice upon the individual, since, due to natural competition, the number of available types of each object will always be ample to provide the individual with a choice of design that suit him [sic] best."

It is important to emphasize that 'modern people' for Gropius were homogenous people having the same needs for 'modern' life. Gropius stressed that architecture and design are matters of paramount concern to the society at large. Art and architecture should not be merely a useless luxury, but deal with basic identity in common life. Gropius focussed on design rationalization of function, economic solutions, maximizing technical resources and new synthetic materials – steel, concrete and glass. His rationalization and standardization ideology showed goodwill to working class people, in the sense that architectural production could meet the needs of more people at less cost. Dry assembly and prefabrication could also reduce the cost of housing (Herdeg, 1983).

Comparably, the Congres Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) is another influential actor promoting public architects designing housing for low-income earners under the Conventional Housing Policy. CIAM, founded to confront the new architecture of the modern time, remained in existence for over thirty years from 1928 to 1959. The first CIAM congress stressed the need of an architect to exert influence on public opinion with the fundamentals of the new architecture, because, according to the CIAM, the clients did not understand the real problem of housing, but the architects did. This perpetuated the perception of the professionalism of architects as an expert under the rational comprehensive planning regime. It was believed that "architecture holds the key to everything" (Conrads, 1970: 144). Kostof (1986) noted that it was common for architects to believe they could rearrange priorities, make the world a better place or create a good society merely by good design. In fact, as Kostof argued, design was not enough because it did not in itself hold the key to social change. Social happiness was not just a professional struggle, but also a collective one. "Beautiful or reasoned buildings do not always bring about beautiful behaviour or reasoned response. And sometimes there are flashes of rare humanity and beauty in the worst of slums" (Kostof, 1986:4).

According to Wakely (1988) and Pawley (1971), the first task of the public architects under the conventional housing paradigm was to set or define a 'minimum standard dwelling' for the lowest income groups. However, it soon became evident that slum dwellers could not

afford to pay even the ‘minimum standard house’ at private sector market prices. Therefore, the targets were set for the construction of housing subsidized by the government. However, even then, targets were rarely achieved because of the enormous scale of slum dwellings and the high cost of this approach. Subsidized public housing was usually located in the periphery areas, where land was available and cheap, yet it meant costly transportation to the city centre and, most importantly, it was situated far from employment opportunities – the key ‘pull’ factor which lured many rural migrants to the cities in the first place even if it meant accepting the trade-off of living in slum conditions. These housing projects were designed by state architects or engineers on “the basis of producing the lowest cost structures that could meet the standards set by the bylaws and the professionals’ view of ‘how the urban poor should live.’” (Wakely, 1988: 122) Slum dwellers were re-housed in the high-rise ‘superblocks’, which placed emphasis on the hygiene and public health echoed by that of the Victorians in England, but whose form and architectural characteristics derived from Le Corbusier and the other iconic architects of the modern movement (Pawley, 1971).

Despite the goodwill from the heavily subsidizing government, the consequence was that a large proportion of the units were sold or transferred to better-off households because many individual families were unable to adapt their lifestyle according to the ‘new standard’ or unwilling to cope with new situations and to assume new responsibilities such as paying rent; thus many returned to live in slums. The reaction to this phenomenon was “one of ‘moral outrage’ at the ‘ungrateful and mercenary’ response of the urban poor who were simply using public subsidises (‘government charity’) to speculate with” (Wakely, 1988: 123).

For those former slum dwellers who decided to stay in state-provided housing, no participation in decision making led to the lack of perception of responsibility. The environmental conditions of the housing rapidly deteriorated because of neglect from this lack of a sense of ownership and lack maintenance by the state. Furthermore, the lack of social integration caused poor relations between neighbours and high crime rates. One of the most infamous example of evidence of the failure of this top-down conventional housing approach was the Pruitt-Igoe in Saint Louis, Missouri, which was designed in 1951 according to the most progressive ideals of CIAM and won an award from the American Institute of Architects. The destruction of the building in 1972 additionally has been claimed as the death of modern architecture (Jencks, 1977). Although this approach entailed a very high cost, new slums were created rapidly – as vertical slums in public housing and horizontal new slums were created as the poor deserted the ‘superblocks’ and returned to house themselves in new areas. The failures of the approach are also nails in the coffin of the architectural idea which tries to manipulate the relationship between architecture and social behaviour.

A study of the economic impact of the housing programme reveals that the government used the actual construction of housing estates as a means to generate

employment and stimulate rapid economic growth as a whole. In developing countries the construction sector contributes 3-8% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Moavenzadeh, 1987 as cited in Fiori et al., 2000). It was believed that wealth would eventually 'trickle down' to the poor and therefore, Conventional Housing Policies were not considered to be a tool to alleviate poverty in the social aspect, but rather as an instrument of economic policy to stimulate domestic capital accumulation and industrialisation (Fiori et al., 2000). At the same time, there was a constant pressure to reduce the construction cost of subsidized housing, which were perceived as being expensive, ineffective and economically unproductive, for the lowest income groups. This led to the introduction of programmes of self-help housing which was a part of the next phase of urban poor housing which Fiori et al. called 'Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase I.' It constituted the second Phase in the model of post-war housing policy development in the Third World (Wakely, 1988). It induced the emergence of the enabling paradigm of site-and-service and slum upgrading, which is discussed below.

2.3 Public-meet-community Sector: Implications for Architecture

Burgess (1992) stated that, in the mid 1960s, it became obvious that modernization policies on conventional housing were failing not only because they were expensive, but because they failed to understand and were unable to accommodate the low-income household economies to survive, e.g. the use of a house as a workplace to generate income. From the unpopular Conventional Housing Policy emerged the "Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase I" (Fiori et al., 2000). The approach focussed on targeting poverty groups, 'appropriate technologies', the recognition and deregulation of the 'informal sector'[3], the recognition of housing generating contributions to property taxes, better financial access for small enterprises, improvement of access of the poor to essential goods and services and the encouragement of self-help housing policies (Burgess, 1992). The focus of development and planning had shifted from rationalization to participation, political debate and inclusion (Davidoff, 1965). Participatory planning emerged alongside the influence of the social movements of the 1960s. During this time, the failure of mainstream models of economic development to address the massive problems of world poverty, increasing inequality and environmental sustainability was uncovered and highlighted. 'Civil society' – the term "refers to those associations beyond the reach of the state and corporate economy which have the capacity for becoming autonomous centres for action" (Friedmann, 1992: vii) – became a crucial actor. In other words, an understanding emerged that people – both in the form of the individual or the group – should have control and power over decisions about situations that affect them. Through these movements, the 'bottom-up' approach was introduced. Under

[3] The new conceptualisation of the 'informal sector' as a resourceful segment of the economy was introduced early 1970s by the International Labour Organization (ILO).

this approach, the role of the state in providing housing was to support civil society in taking control over the decision-making process that affected their lives.

There are many different labels for participatory design including 'community design', 'community architecture', 'social architecture,' 'social design' and 'architecture for people.' Many post-modernist architects claimed it as the future of design (Francis, 1989). Francis (1989) expressed many doubts concerning the difference in the perception of the architects and clients towards 'participatory design'. Ellin (2000) and Jackson (1995) criticised the manipulation and the immense control which community architects intrinsically encompass when facilitating a participatory design process. At the same time, it was easy for many participation advocates to fall into the romantic idealism of the notion that we should "do it all with the people, because people are always right" (Hamdi, 1995: 25).

Albrecht (1988) noted that achieving genuine understanding of participatory design was difficult. Arguably, one of the most significant reasons that participatory design did not work was because "the more the architect is willing to live up to the demands of the current model of participation, the more he [sic] becomes a mere facilitator and co-ordinator, relinquishing essential features of architectural activity." (Albrecht, 1988: 24) This is a very crucial point. It implies that participation in design might not seem to work in practice because many architects do not enjoy being 'someone else' – that is, being a supporter or a facilitator but not a designer. It is understandable that architects may feel threatened by the ideas of participation and empowerment, because they will have to relinquish the power associated with their expertise and status. This new paradigm is not only particularly defiant of the 'psychological' security of professionals, but also challenges the community, especially the poor, who normally feel inferior to experts, to re-estimate their own capability and contribute to the creation of architecture.

There are different types of architects who address 'participation' of the 'user' in varied degrees and manners.[4] First, the technical architects employ a technical approach that focuses on adaptability and flexibility in housing design in developed countries. Although it does not particularly refer to the poor, the importance of users having the freedom to adapt is emphasized. The idea calls for a more loose-fitting arrangement between form and function that allows users to adapt the house to fit their lives. One of the most important ideas of the movement is the 'Support' theory forwarded by John Habraken. He calls for architects to leave out their manipulation in design and encourage freedom to grow and to diverge from the occupants.

[4] The practice of some types of these architects may not reach the ultimate level of participation – empowerment. However it is important to explore their professionalism in order to shape the new architect's role towards 'architecture of empowerment.'

> "'[O]ccupants can plan and arrange the interior of their individual dwellings with the help of prefabricated components that fit into the support…According to Habraken, the role of the housing architects as an artist – as a poet in brick, steel, and glass – is over…He bestowed a different role on the architect, moreover, a position that many experienced as threatening" (Bosma et al., 2000: 92-126)

Second, in developed countries in the 1960s, many community design centres (CDCs), initiated by architectural schools in partnerships with other local organizations,[5] were established in local communities, in response to the 'community architect' movement. Curry (2004: 63) stated that "CDCs have contributed to two new social empowerment goals: valuing neighbourhood and community leadership as essential to lasting, useful social change, and creating alternative markets for investment." They served as advocates for social justice and local capacity building. There are many examples of CDCs, especially in United States of America. However, Curry argued that CDCs remain marginalized in the world of design. Because the traditional view is that design belongs to the wealthy and powerful, the works of CDCs has received limited publicity. The professionalism of the CDC architects could be compared to the definition of 'community architects' defined by Wates and Knevitt (1987) as described in Table 2-2.

[5] For example, the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development, New York's City College Architectural Center, the Los Angeles Community Design Center, San Francisco's Asian Neighborhood Design, Seattle's Environmental Works, the Troy Architecture Program, Louisville Community Design and the Rural Studio at Auburn University, which is a famous example of CDC and is discussed in the next Chapter.

Table 2-2: Comparison of conventional architecture and community architecture

	Conventional Architecture	**Community Architecture**
Status of user	Passive recipients	Users are or are treated as the Clients. They are offered (or take) control of commissioning, designing, developing, managing and evaluating their environment, and may sometimes be physically involved in construction.
User/expert relationship	Remote. Little direct contact. Experts are commissioned by developers. Expert's attitudes are mostly paternalistic and patronizing.	Creative alliance and working partnership.
Expert's role	Provider, neutral bureaucrat and elitist. Remote and inaccessible.	Enabler, facilitator and social entrepreneur and educator. Locally based and accessible.
Scale of projects	Generally large and cumbersome.	Generally small. Large sites generally broken down into manageable packages.
Location of project	Fashionable and wealthy. Otherwise a green-field site with infrastructure, i.e. no constraints.	Anywhere, but most likely to be urban, or periphery of urban areas; area of single or multiple deprivation; derelict or decaying environment.
Use of project	Likely to be a single function or two or three complementary activities	Likely to be multi-functional
Design style	Self-conscious about style. Fashionable. 'International' or 'modern movement', post-modern, hi-tech, neo-vernacular or classical revival.	Not self-conscious about style. Any 'style' may be adopted as appropriate. Most likely to be contextual concerning identity.
Technology/resources	Mass production, prefabrication, global supply of materials, machine-friendly technology, machine and capital intensive.	Likely to be small-scale production, on-site production, local supply of materials, user-friendly technology, re-use, recycling and conservation, labour and time intensive.
End product	Static, slowly deteriorates, hard to manage and maintain, high-energy consumption.	Flexible, slowly improving, easy to manage and maintain, low-energy consumption.
Primary motivation	Private sector: return on investment. Public sector: social welfare and party political opportunism. Experts: esteem from professional peers.	Improvement of quality of life for individuals and communities. Better use of local resources. Social investment. Response to specific localized needs and opportunities.
Method of operation	Top-down, emphasis on product rather than process, bureaucratic and centralized.	Bottom-up, emphasis on process rather than product, flexible and localized.
Ideology	Totalitarian, technocratic and doctrinaire (Left or Right), big is beautiful, competition, survival of the fittest.	Pragmatic, humanitarian, responsive and flexible, small is beautiful, collaboration, mutual aid.

Source: Adapted from Wates and Knevitt, 1987: 24-25

Table 2-2 above illustrates the dichotomy between conventional and community architects. It is important to note that this research is inspired by their definition of 'community architects'. At the same time, this research calls for a more eclectic approach to try to understand the interrelationship of the dichotomy rather than converge them. The new

professionalism of the community architects is discussed in the section 2.5 and in the next Chapter.

The third type of architects who address 'participation' of the 'user' are the technical architects of site-and-services projects in developing countries. The level of involvement from the poor with this type is higher than the first and the second types but it is also more concentrated on their labour rather than on their self-management. These architects, therefore, were criticised a great deal for being exploitative. It has been widely criticised that participatory planning often ends up being co-opted by technical rational language and procedures. An example was when self-help housing programmes for the urban poor became synonymous with 'self-build'. The outcome was many site-and-services[6] projects being implemented in developing countries.

There are two approaches motivating self-help housing programmes. The first one is an idealistic approach as advocated by the writings of John Turner (Turner and Fichter, 1972, Turner, 1976) who had genuine faith in participation and the capability and creativity of the slum dweller. The other approach is one promoted by the World Bank which places emphasis, most of the time, on the efficiency of the programmes. Under the self-help approach, it was believed that people work harder and better when they work for themselves; the skills learned could be translated into outside income and economic opportunity; flexibility and innovation through individual experiment was promoted; all of which had a clear democratic character because decisions were made directly by those most effected (Marcuse, 1992).

Turner's approach raised the very important issue of the way professionals perceived slums. Referring to Table 2-1, as in the past, the experts tended to see slum dwellers as passive recipients. Slum dwellers were socially stigmatised and associated with laziness, lack of ambition, low-skills, criminal activity, vice and drugs. It seemed as though there was no 'hope' in the slums and the only way to deal with them was to eradicate and wholly transform them as was attempted by conventional housing policy. On the contrary, with Turner's approach, slum dwellers became active agents who had the capability to meet their needs with merely a little support from the outside. If slums could be categorized into two broad types – 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair' – a distinction made by Lloyd (1979), Turner's writings explicitly points out the 'hope' in slums.

[6] Referring to Caminos and Goethert (1978), 'site-and-services' covers the subdivision of land and services for residential and commercial use. Its aim is to improve housing conditions for low-income groups in urban areas by providing 'site' and 'services'. 'Site' means a piece of land where people can build their own dwelling. 'Services' means availability to; a) employment – to create job opportunities; b) public utilities, such as water supply and sewage disposal, street paving and storm drainage, electricity and street lighting, refuse collection; c) community facilities, such as health, educational, recreational, and cultural; d) finances – meaning housing bank, credit and loan associations; and e) communications, such as public transportation, public telephone, public mail service.

Lloyd (1979) stated that ‘slums of hope’ referred to progressive settlements which had new, usually illegal self-built structures were all in a process of development, consolidation and improvement. Examples of this type of slum are squatter settlements and semi-legal subdivisions. The ‘slums of hope’ could be integrated into the mass population, whilst ‘slums of despair’ would remain an excluded part of society. ‘Slums of despair’ referred to declining neighborhoods, in which environmental conditions were undergoing a process of degeneration such as ‘old’ city centre slums and ‘new’ slum estates. However, there exists a continuum between hope and despair. Not all central area slums and deteriorated housing estates are considered ‘slums of despair’, and not all self-built squatter settlements and other informally constructed housing are on their way to becoming integrated into the regular housing stock (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003). Certainly, in the absence of appropriate interventions, ‘slums of hope’ could easily become ‘slums of despair’. The important question, therefore, is not to ask whether a community is a slum of hope or despair, but to ask how ‘hope’ can be recognized in any scenario, so the professionals can intervene in the most appropriate manner. This approach reflects new architectural professional values.

For the World Bank, according to Wakely (1988), using the labour of the beneficiaries to reduce the cost of the project was the principal argument behind their self-help programmes. It is important to emphasize here that the principal motive behind the popularity of self-help housing policies promoted by the World Bank – where a state transformed itself from a provider of goods and services to a facilitator and provider of basic services – was that “the governments were running out of money and public confidence.” (Hamdi, 1995: 18) It was mainly about reducing state expenditure, because there was no way that the government could meet the demand of heavily subsidising housing for the lowest income groups.

Burgess (1992) and Marcuse (1992) criticised self-help policies as not likely to work for many reasons. For example, they could not be a substitute for resources indispensable for housing provision because output levels had been minimal. It was likely to produce only temporary solutions to immediate housing problems. Additionally, because of the limitations of the availability of local skills and the fact that the World Bank operated under the general principal of ‘full cost recovery’, this resulted in either a lowering of standards or a distortion of efficient building procedures. Furthermore, by participating in building their own houses, the poor received lower payment than what they would get in the regular economy. Therefore, it was suggested that the participation of the poor in self-help housing could be seen as mere exploitation of free or cheap labour (Burgess, 1992, Fiori et al., 2000, Marcuse, 1992, Hamdi, 1995).

Many scholars have blamed Turner for the disadvantages of self-help housing. Turner clarified his point of view by stating that “the obligation to build your own house could

be as oppressive as being forbidden to do so – the corollary of the freedom to literally build your own house is the freedom *not* to have to." (Turner, 1976: 128) He added that it is mistaken to think that participation in housing is synonymous with self-help construction. This is reinforced by the false assumption that construction matters more than management and maintenance. Ward (1976) supported Turner by positing that the world's poor should not become do-it-yourself house builders. The point is that they should be 'in control'. "Consequently, the question is whose participation in whose decision and whose actions?" (Turner, 1976:139) Their statements are very important and still relevant to today's debates on participation and empowerment.

In response to the unpopularity and failure of site-and-services, in the later stages of this Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase I (Fiori et al., 2000), 'slum upgrading'[7] was introduced and grew rapidly in popularity. This popularity came not only because of the lower cost, but also from the political and social gains of slum dwellers attaining a healthy and secure living environment without being displaced. Slum upgrading projects varied considerably from place to place and involve various types of subsidies. In many cases, in addition to the provision of basic services, access to credit and secure tenure, the projects could include a provision for building new housing units or some site-and-services plots for those needing to be resettled. In many cases the projects remained 'pilot', although in a few cases these were implemented on a large scale. Both site-and-services and upgrading in the 1970s and the early 1980s tended to act merely as immediate and emergency solutions to the housing needs of the poor. Fiori et al (2000) raised the question of 'replicability' and the challenges to 'scale-up'. This called for a more eclectic and sustainable approach which will be discussed below. However, because of the critical change in the economic sphere – the hegemonic neoliberalism regime in the 1980s – there was a critical change that led to the emergence of enabling the market in housing policy. This watershed is crucial. In practice, neoliberalism benefits a great deal from the rhetoric of 'participation', even though, what mainly concerns neo-liberalists is market efficiency, which has very little to do with issues of social justice or an egalitarian society.

2.4 The Withdrawing State: Implications for Architecture

While the bottom-up approach in urban poor housing policy was implemented in developing countries, the new approach was introduced when Margaret Thatcher was elected Prime Minister in 1979 in Great Britain and when Ronald Reagan was elected President in

[7] At the simplest definition, 'upgrading' or 'slum improvement' means a package of basic services – clean water supply and adequate sewage disposal to improve the well-being of the community. To legalize and regularize the properties in situations of insecure or unclear tenure is fundamental. Recognizing the title and security of slum dwellers' tenure makes a positive contribution to both the economic prospects of the poor, as well as to the national economy through property taxation (Goethert et al., 2001).

1980 in the United States. By 1983, the emphasis of the new policy started to shift considerably (Pugh, 1994 as cited in Fiori et al, 2000). At that time, privatization programmes were said to be influenced by the debt crisis and the structural adjustment programmes of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Referring to Fiori et al, 2000, the fundamental idea of structural adjustment in poor countries was, basically, to 'make them pay.' In other words, the programme meant to adjust the bookkeeping structure of poor countries, so they could pay the loans back to their lenders – the rich countries. The reason was simple; if the poor could not pay, the rich would also collapse. Under the structural adjustment programme in many poor countries, public utilities and social welfare provisions were cut and privatized. State intervention was kept at a minimum level. The simple tasks for the state were all about enabling markets to work, and relying on 'wealth creation' and 'growth' to eliminate poverty by the 'trickle down' effect, free markets and free trade.

According to Harvey (2005), neoliberalism, based on the 18th century philosophy of 'liberalism' which stresses freedom and individualism, emphasizes the need to liberate individual entrepreneurial freedoms by private property rights, free markets and free trade. Unlike the imposed and paternalistic approach of the modernist regime of the conventional housing policy, neoliberalism is all about people's choices and 'freedom' – although, later, it was recognized merely as the freedom to choose as a consumer, additionally ignoring the fact that a greater part of the population is excluded from those choices in the market. However, Harvey pointed out an important issue by raising 'the good side and the bad side of freedom' as mentioned by Karl Polanyi in 1944. While the positive side of 'freedom' meant freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of meeting, freedom of association and freedom to choose one's own job, the negative side included "the freedom to exploit one's fellows or to make inordinate gains without commensurable service to the community…" (Harvey, 2005: 36)

Under neoliberalism and the related 'Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase II' (Fiori et al., 2000), housing was incorporated into macro-economic policy. At that time, macro-economic policy was heavily influenced by the neoliberal global economic circumstances of the 1980s, the neoliberal economic doctrine and *laissez-faire* dogma. The focus of housing was on the deregulation and privatisation of housing finance. Within the Phase, the World Bank had an evolving role in the housing sector and provided a new agenda for housing policy and institutional reform in many developing countries. The World Bank proposed seven housing policy operational instruments (1993). First, the World Bank set out to develop property rights. It was proposed that programmes for regularizing tenure should go together with infrastructure improvement in slum and squatter settlements, establish property taxation and should seek, at all times, to 'recover cost.' Second, the World Bank set out to develop mortgage finance. Competition was encouraged to improve efficiency, as well as mutual guarantees and flexible payment schedules for the poor. Third, state subsidies were

considered to be the last option. Instead, the state was expected to improve access to housing, improve access to market-rate housing finance, remove barriers to rental housing and improve housing supply markets to reduce price. Rationalizing subsidies meant subsidizing people, not houses. Fourth, infrastructure had to be provided for residential land development and existing communities were encouraged to participate, so that 'the implementation can run smoothly.' Again, there was a strong emphasis on cost recovery and 'participation' was used as a 'managerial tool.' Finally, the last three instruments included regulating land and housing development, organizing the building industry and developing a policy and institutional framework.

Control and planning was seen as a barrier to the freedom of the markets and "the notion of planning increasingly became a synonym for inefficiency, regulation, control and excessive cost." (Albrechts, 1991: 125) Therefore, the role of mainstream planners and architects was limited and shifted to the realm of 'entrepreneurialism' (Albrechts, 1991). As cities, not merely nation states, increasingly became a part of the global economy, the planner and architect's role was all about assisting and supporting entrepreneurs expand their businesses and improving the quality of life in cities – or at least the 'image' of it – in an attempt to attract financial investment by creating a good business climate. Planners and architects became 'deal-makers', focussing on market planning, rather than regulation (Fainstain, 1988 as cited in Albrechts, 1991).

As structural adjustment programmes were implemented, it was recognised that, in fact, the poor were suffering from a reduction of social welfare provisions and public expenditure. The 'trickle down' did not seem to work for everyone, especially those who belonged to the lowest-income groups who were excluded from the market. Programmes facilitating wealth creation and choices failed to spread downward through the system (Stewart and Taylor, 1995). With reference to Harvey (2005), neoliberalism was merely a convenient means to spread monopoly power and to restore the power of economic elites. In other words, neoliberalism "could only ultimately be sustained by resort to authoritarianism. The freedom of the masses would be restricted in favour of the freedoms of the few." (Harvey, 2005: 70) Massive inequality increased through the growth of market liberalisation. In the 1990s many studies suggested that structural adjustment policies encouraged political instability. There was a widespread agreement that "even the World Bank, by the late 1990s, had come to accept that adjustment programmes had to do a better job of sheltering the poor or assisting their transition to a new economy…" (Rapley, 2004: 3) The crisis of structural adjustment in the mid 1990s led to a search for a more eclectic and sustainable development, through the return of poverty reduction strategies in housing policy.

According to Fiori et al (2000), while the site-and-services and slum upgrading continued with a strong emphasis on cost recovery within the neoliberalist framework, the

focus of governments shifted from the project level to the sectoral level. Housing reform became synonymous with financial institutional reform. Financial institution reform was the key while poverty alleviation slowly disappeared from the agenda, as poverty alleviation was seen as achievable only as the product of unblocking markets and financial institutional reform. Referring to Table 2-1, a belief in the 'trickle down' concept, as well as the perception of poverty resulting from the lack of development growth was restored through modernist thought during the conventional housing policy period. The only difference was that, this time, growth was not generated from the state as it was through the implementation of Conventional Housing Policy, but rather in the hands of market liberalisation by minimising the role of the state. It is true that the role of the state was still a facilitator as during the Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase I, but the goals of the private commercial sector and the community were perceived to be different. While the latter focused on provision of affordable services at cost, the former aimed to maximise financial profit (Wakely, 1988).

However, a few promising activities emerged, arguably 'within' the neoliberalist hegemony. Although, like poverty alleviation debates, the 'slum' has been slowly fading away from being on the agenda, low-income access to housing financial institutions was not ignored. Pugh (1994) raised an important point that posited that the stigmatised self-help housing experience from the Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase I was not entirely unsuitable for the Phase II. Self-help housing was merely misconceived and incorrectly interpreted. According to Pugh, with the 'right assistance' – for example, through access to small loans (considered the most important instrument for Pugh), information, land acquisition, assembly of materials and localized land use – meaningful self-help housing can be accomplished. Pugh emphasized that "accessible housing finance increase options available in household economies" (Pugh, 1994: 289). For example, if the poor had access to loans, they would be able to contract others to build their houses, so the 'self-help' would not have to be a synonym to 'self-build'. Small loans would facilitate more 'options' for the poor. In other words, analogous with neoliberalist ideology, access to finance is the key and additionally for the poor it is one of the fundamental tools for their 'freedom' and 'empowerment.' Within this approach in the 1970s-1980s, affordable loans, micro-credit, and a mass small loans programme using cooperative finance societies were launched. An outstanding example is the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh which provided loans. Although housing was not its major aim, to poor Bangladeshis by creating a banking system based on mutual trust, accountability and participation (Grameen Bank, 2006).

2.5 New Professionalism of Community Architects

Referring to Table 2-1, previously, in urban poor housing policies, the role of the state shifted dramatically from 'provider' to 'supporter'. While Non-conventional Housing Policy

Phase I focused on self-help and embraced an upgrading approach, which needed a commitment from poor communities and called for their autonomy, Phase II focused on freeing and enabling the market to 'rule'. From conventional policy to the Non-conventional Housing Policy Phases I and II, dematerialization of housing was clearly reflected. As with conventional housing policy, housing was about the products of the building process. The aim was to build 'houses.' Then, housing became a 'verb' (Turner and Fichter, 1972) with a focus on the process of building in the Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase I. In Phase II housing became something utterly intangible, as financial institutional reform instead became the key issue. The debate surrounding the attainment of poverty alleviation through housing policies comes and goes. The debate was explicit between the conventional housing policy and Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase I, and then to some extent disappeared in the Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase II. The different understanding of poverty reflected a different ends and means for each policy. The current phase, however, as a result of a delayed recognition of the failure of structural adjustment programmes and the failure of the 'trickle-down' effect in the Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase II in many poor countries, appears to be reconsidering the roles and stronger interrelationships between the state, market and civil society. The poverty alleviation debate in housing policy from the Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase I has returned.

Within this current Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase III (Fiori et al, 2000), 'everything' important from the previous phases appears on the agenda. Supporting community organization, achieving municipal and NGO support to facilitate negotiation and partnership, ensuring sustainability through maintaining local, long-term, low-income livelihoods, housing and workspace and establishing a flexible planning framework in order to operate at the wider city scale are key (Lloyd-Jones and Carmona, 2002: 201-202). There is recognition that the problems of urban poor housing are too large and complex for any one group to solve alone. As D'Cruz and Satterthwaite stated:

> "Communities can be well organized, but without cooperation from city authorities, without funds, without access to land and without technical assistance, they cannot build secure communities for themselves. Cities may have slum redevelopment policies that have good intentions, but without the involvement of the organizations of the poor in that redevelopment process, the solutions rarely work well – and may actually exacerbate poverty. Complex problems require complex solutions and complex solutions must involve many people and careful collaboration." (D'Cruz and Satterthwaite, 2005: 71)

According to Fiori et al. (2000), this phase is about institutional reform 'beyond' unblocking markets. It shifts from enabling markets to the democratisation of the state and the empowerment of civil societies. Moreover, the revalorization of 'design' becomes an

instrument of physical and social integration. This opens up an important opportunity for architects and planners to contribute to this eclectic and sustainable approach.

Comparing the new professionalism of community architects, which this research focuses on, with the professionalism of 'community architects' which Wates and Knevitt (1987) defined in Table 2-2, it is important to note that Wates and Knevitt do not discuss the complexity of power relations in the architectural design process for community development projects at all. Focussing on the scale of the project, many critics of the current phase argue for a need to replace the idea of 'small is beautiful' (Schumacher, 1974) which Wates and Knevitt also proposed with the necessity of 'scaling-up' to address the problem of slums at city level. The current phase also does not concern itself with the dichotomy of the top-down or bottom-up approach as Wates and Knevitt stated, but tries more to integrate the two. What is needed is an eclectic approach. Furthermore, it is important to highlight the words 'facilitator' and 'educator' Wates and Knevitt used to describe the role of community architects, because it shows the link between the professionalism of community architects and Freire's idea of 'true education' towards empowerment as discussed in the next section.

One of the main challenges of the current urban poor housing policy which calls for a new form of partnership amongst the state, market and civil society, is how to scale-up the idea (Cities Alliance, 2003; D'Cruz and Satterthwaite, 2005; Chambers, 1998; Fiori, 2000). This is important because although it is necessary to "start where you can" (Hamdi, 2004: 130), at the same time, there is a need to look for multipliers, because "small may be beautiful but big is necessary and inevitable." (Hamdi, 2004: 139) What is the 'methodology' for a project which is site-specific, but is replicable on a wider scale? Certainly, local political will, networks, and the cohesion of different sectors are key. Gaventa (1998) mentioned the inter-related three dimensions of scaling-up.

- Scaling-out means to increase the types and quality of participation by expanding participation from one activity to the involvement of people throughout the whole development process
- Scaling-up means to expand the quantity of participation by increasing the number of participants or places to move beyond the specifics of particular local pilot projects.
- Institutional change "refers to the shifts required in and among larger-scale institutions for scaling-out and scaling-up to occur effectively." (ibid:155) This means more than large institutions focussing on communities; they also have to transform their administrative structure to be less standardized, 'blueprint' led and bureaucratic. Not only does this concern the internal organizational change of an institution, but also the development of linkages amongst organizations.

Without institutional change, scaling-out and scaling-up can hardly occur effectively. This calls for links, cross-sector partnerships, networks, collations, democratisation and decentralisation in the arena of governance (Mayo, 2000).

Whilst acknowledging the importance of scaling-up, Blackburn and Holland (1998c:137) also identify four dangers of doing so too rapidly.

- Routinization takes place when professionals facilitate many participatory planning processes over time. Because their enthusiasm naturally diminishes, they unconsciously direct the outputs of the processes to a predictable pattern based on previous communities they worked with. Too many standardized outputs are an indicator of this occurrence.
- Unnecessary duplication of the participatory process from different development organizations can bring fatigue to community members. Coordination amongst NGOs, governmental departments and other actors are useful to minimise it.
- There are many examples of abuse when professionals employ participatory processes merely to gain information they need for their research. The expectations of the locals are raised without follow-up results leading to frustrated community members.
- When scaling up, the notion concerning diverse communities – for example, wealth, social status, gender, ethnicity, education and age – are taken for granted by professionals.

With this approach, there is nothing ‘new’ in this Phase. However, what make this phase distinctive are the combinations, links and the interrelationships of many previous components of housing policies of the last decades which are aimed to integrate everything together. This Phase is about institutional reform *and* participation. It is *neither* about top-down *nor* bottom-up, but *both* top-down *and* bottom-up (Fiori et al., 2000, United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003, D'Cruz and Satterthwaite, 2005, Hamdi, 1995, Chambers, 1995). Certainly, fundamentally, one of the greatest challenges lies in balancing the tension and force between different agents who have different agendas in urban poor housing.

Within the approach, the definition of ‘slums’ remains rather loose, varied, and ambiguous. This leads to a difficulty in comparison and measurement of slums in different countries. What is agreed is that slums are multidimensional in nature and there are some physical characteristics of slums that can be clearly defined but there are not many parallels in social and behavioural dimensions. The different definitions of slums in many countries reflect the different perceptions of local-level political decisions. The operational definition of the slum recommended by a United Nations Expert Group Meeting on slum indicators in Nairobi in October 2002 was restricted to the physical and legal characteristics and excluded

the more difficult social dimensions. The five characteristics are “inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding; and insecure residential status.” (United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2003: 12) From the 29 case studies of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (2003), eight countries lack any formal definition. For the rest, the two issues which were most referred to in the definition of ‘slums’ are the use of poor construction materials and the legality of land occupancy. Other common characteristics of slums are a lack of basic services, substandard housing or illegal and inadequate building structures, overcrowding and high density occupancy, unhealthy living conditions and hazardous location, insecure tenure – irregular or informal settlements – poverty and social exclusion, and minimum settlement size.

The key is to engage in partnerships with the government while protecting civil society’s autonomy. There is also a call for strengthening public-private partnerships. In this phase, the ‘private sector’ does not mean either markets or communities – which distinguishes Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase I from Phase II – but both. This phase also maintains attempts to enable markets to work better in urban poor housing by seeking synergetic approaches with the state (World Bank, 1993), as well as efforts to re-orientate self-help activities towards capitalist methods. For the government to work with the private sector, then, it would mean more than a mere sub-contraction of work.

With respect to partnerships, which are one of the keys to scaling up, Hamdi and Majale (2005:27) define four key elements:

- Common objectives and goals amongst partners
- Shared risks and mutual benefit
- Contributions from all partners (both monetary and non-monetary)
- Shared authority, responsibility and accountability.

A partnership “accepts that all parties, however unequal in experience, talent, or power, represent an asset and are responsive to each other’s needs … Mutuality moves relationships from a hierarchical state of dependence and independence toward one that is horizontal and interdependent” (ibid: 28). The way governments and professionals view the poor has to shift from clients or beneficiaries to active agents whose individual and collective processes can, with appropriate support, improve their lives. This is not easy because the state and professionals are accustomed to dominating the planning and the management of initiatives. It is about allowing slum dwellers not only to participate, but to influence and determine the scope of their participation (D'Cruz and Satterthwaite, 2005).

The question is how to distinguish what is a so called win-win solution, where everyone gets what they want, from a co-opted solution, where the powerful get what they

want by force, exclusion or manipulation of the powerless? It is, therefore, important to analyse the duplicity of 'participation' and 'empowerment'. This is discussed in the next section.

> "Almost anything anyone has ever thought to try to help the urban poor is criticized, from the "site and services" projects initiated by John Turner…to the micro-entrepreneurial solutions advocated by Hernando de Soto in the 1990s. Even the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that operate in slums are characterized as imposing a "soft imperialism" that bureaucratizes and de-radicalizes urban social movements." (Beardsley, 2008: 56)

While academics were arguing whether self-help was capitalist or socialist, what should instead be the aim is to make the interests of both poles converge rather than diverge (Hamdi, 1995). This can be done by

> "…shifting the discussion away from public *or* private, and therefore away from leftist or rightist politics. It speaks instead to partnerships *between* public and private, *between* center and periphery. For the left it means toward greater community autonomy. Because it builds cooperation, it is a means to empowerment through the transfer and distribution of resources from central to local levels. The right likes it because it relieves the burden of housing from the housing purse – a process that privatizes the business of housing (and urban development) – something it has been arguing all along as both more equitable and more efficient." (Hamdi, 1995: 27-28)

3. The Duplicity of 'Participation' and 'Empowerment'

As mentioned that 'participation' and 'empowerment' are the key elements of the current Phase of urban poor housing policy, it is important to explore the meanings of 'participation' and 'empowerment' which have been debated for decades. 'Participation' has different meanings for different agents in practice. On one hand, 'participation' could be employed as a means to make the project more efficient and effective in terms of cost and responsiveness of the programme to the poor. It can also build up local capacity at an individual and community level. On the other hand, as an end, 'participation' concerns political change and empowerment in favour of the oppressed by increasing their self-reliance so they become capable to deal with and in control of their own everyday life problems. From the lowest level of empowerment, Paul's level of participation starts the range from project cost sharing, improving project efficiency, increasing project effectiveness, building beneficiary capacity and ultimately, reaching empowerment (Paul, 1987 as cited in Moser, 1989).

The use of participation ranges from manipulation to empowerment. In describing the lowest level of empowerment, Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (1969) ranges from manipulation, therapy, information, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and ultimately citizen control. According to the UNDP, community participation (1998 as cited in Hamdi and Majale, 2005) ranges from manipulation where participation is used for indoctrination, information given on a one-way communication basis, consultation, consensus-building, decision-making, risk-sharing, partnership and self-management. Similarly, Chambers (1995) mentioned three main ways in which 'participation' is used. The first is as a cosmetic label to make a traditional top-down style of development appears 'good'. The second is a co-opted practice where the aim is merely to mobilise local labour to reduce the project cost. "Often this means that 'they' (local people) participate in 'our' project." The third is an empowering process. "In theory, this means that 'we' participate in 'their' project, not 'they' in 'ours'" (ibid, 30) Similarly, Pretty et al.'s typology of participation (1994 as cite in Gaventa 1998) is divided into passive participation, participation in information giving, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, interactive participation and self-mobilization.

Many academic sources (Cooke and Kothari, 2001a, Henkel and Stirrat, 2001, Mosse, 2001) critically questioned whether participation was merely a new form of tyranny? (Cooke and Kothari, 2001a) Responding to the tyranny critiques, many scholars argued that there is, yet, a chance for 'community participation' to shift from 'tyranny' to 'transformation' (Hickey and Mohan, 2004). However, a 'tyranny critic', Bill Cooke, argued that it is rather naïve to assume that the powerful agents who set the 'rules' would let the transformation to take place so easily. On the other hand, Williams et al. (2003a, as cited in Hickey and Mohan, 2004) defined 'transformation' as "a strengthening of the bargaining power of the poor *within* these relations" (originally emphasize, Hickey and Mohan, 2004: 14) without necessarily involving a reversal of power relations. In other words, they tend to 'work through' the existing structure rather than 'take their place.' (Hickey and Mohan, 2004) Certainly, there are different degrees of 'transformation' and Hickey and Mohan's version could be criticized by the 'tyranny critics' as an unauthentic transformation.

Amongst the 'tyranny critiques', there are two approaches to the critique of 'community participation'(Cooke and Kothari, 2001b). The first approach focuses on technical limitations by re-examining the methodological tools used where participatory methods might drive out other methods that can provide some other advantages which the participatory tools cannot. The second approach emphasizes the theoretical, political and conceptual limitations, including 'tyranny of decision-making and control'. David Mosse (2001) questions the immense authority of the professionals. 'Needs' of the community members are shaped many times by perceptions of what the facilitators could deliver and 'information' is often

imposed from donors', NGOs', or the professionals' interpretation. Another theoretical, political and conceptual limitation concerns the 'tyranny of the group.' This refers back to what Moser (1989) asked regarding 'whose participation', Chambers' 'whose reality counts?' (1997), and what Desai (1995) questioned with regard to whether participation merely reinforced the interests of the existing powerful – the community elites.

One of the most important limitations in the literature on community participation is the tendency to conceptualize 'community' in homogenous terms as a harmonious unit which people share common interests and needs (Cooke and Kothari, 2001a) – However, people who may not share the same ethics, religion, age, gender, and class may have different requirements and possess unequal levels of power in the community. Furthermore, because participation requires a lot of group work, the critiques from a social psychology perspective criticises that groups might not reflect the real needs of individuals. People seem to guess what everyone else wants. Thus, eventually, a project might not respond to what people need individually, and might even result in rejection afterwards.

Participation can also make things worse because of its face-to-face method. It makes people overly optimistic about the power of the group and lack firm responsibility to a real threat (Cooke, 2001). With regard to the behavioural critiques, many constraints in participation come from participants, for instance, diffidence in the presence of authority, fear of speaking up in group meetings, low self-esteem, distrust of the motives of those in power, reluctance to take risks, fear of economic consequences or social loss of face, fear of criticism for overstepping customary roles, factional differences, a sense of powerlessness or fatalism, lack of experience in working with groups and lack of skills in planning and problem-solving (Srinivasan, 1990).

According to the various references mentioned above, empowerment is referred to as an ultimate goal or an ends of 'participation'. Freidmann (1992) noted people's empowerment as the key of alternative development. As he puts it, the empowerment approach "places the emphasis on autonomy in the decision-making of territorially organized communities, local self-reliance (but not autarchy), direct (participatory) democracy, and experiential social learning." (ibid: vii) However, it is critical to note that "[t]here are examples of the concept being developed by both the Right and Left wing." (Walters et al., 2001: 2) Can empowerment simultaneously benefit both of them? Or "does this apparent consensus, the current orthodoxy, actually conceal very divergent interests and meaning?" (Mayo and Craig, 1995: 3) It is useful to start from exploring different approaches of 'empowerment' in various fields to seeing how the term has been used for different agenda and issues.

Walters et al. (2001) mentioned that the term has also been applied within management studies by acknowledging that if employees 'feel' empowered, they will work

harder and be more responsible for their actions. Consequently, this will ultimately benefit the organisation. It is important to note that 'empowerment' in the management field emphasizes the profit and cost-efficiency of the organisation rather than the autonomy of the individual employee, which is in contrast to how the term is used in alternative development discussed below. There is little agreement between professionals and users as to what empowerment means and to which ends it leads (Servian, 1996, Walters et al., 2001) – individual achievement, spiritual fulfilment, organizational better management and profit, or inclusive democracy.

Referring to Figure 2-1 below, on one hand, empowerment is fundamental to an alternative development – which means "centred on people and their environment rather than production and profits" (Friedmann, 1992: 31). Empowering the powerless to become active makers and shapers by gaining more control over the realities that affect their lives offers them the capacity to stand up for their rights, and help create just, healthy societies (Woollcombe, 1996). The process must seek better ways for communities to challenge existing power relationships aimed at structural transformation with respect to local struggles and inequalities. Therefore it can not only stop at the level of individuals but must aim for institutional change to a larger extent. This is not an easy task, because, as "Foucault's ideas around the domination of historical and traditional forces suggests, we should challenge as well as identify power, but the nature of power means that it is also difficult for individuals to challenge" (Servian, 1996: 58-59).

Referring to Figure 2-1, on the other hand, neoliberalism advocates the use empowerment of as cost-efficiency in, for example, a 'participatory' housing projects as mentioned above. The World Bank has also included the term as one of the main objectives of community participation (Paul, 1987 as cited in Mayo and Craig, 1995). Likewise, "Empowering the poor has become an almost universal slogan." (Thomas, 1992 as cited in Mayo and Craig, 1995: 2) However, empowerment for the World Bank seems to imply the meaning in the sense of management studies, and in terms of cutting back the welfare state by focussing on efficiency and cost-effectiveness. Empowerment in the welfare state emphasizes citizens taking more individual responsibility for welfare and security and this was seen by many as an attempt to substitute individual for public and collective responsibility (Taylor, 1995). Does the World Bank use the term 'empowerment' in the same ways as NGOs? Are community participation and empowerment merely 'the human face of structural adjustment or tools for democratic transformation?' (Mayo and Craig, 1995) And to answer the question is to question even more how to release people's energies without exploiting them? (Taylor, 1995) How much must the local people do for themselves? (Onyx and Benton, 1995) What is the 'optimal' support for allowing things to 'grow' spontaneously and sustainably?

Figure 2-1 shows that on both sides of empowerment, there is a 'trap'. For the side of 'empowerment as inclusive democracy', too little control in a participatory process could lead to a chaotic situation. For the side of 'empowerment as cost-efficiency', too much control could lead to the exploitation of the poor communities as cheap labour.

Figure 2-1: The duplicity of 'empowerment'

Abbott (1996) illustrates the inter-relationship between empowerment and *conscientisacion* with a reference to Freire's idea on education. Friere's *Conscientisacion* refers to the learning process of an individual in perceiving their social, political and economic contradictions and in taking action against the oppressive elements of their reality (Freire, 1972). Abbott also distinguishes *conscientisacion* from empowerment by arguing that the latter is more concerned with the direct involvement of the people in programmes and projects.

> *"Conscientisacion* was difficult to implement because it required changes which affected everyone in the society and was threatening to many of them. Empowerment, on the other hand, was far less explicit and could be applied locally without threatening the status quo. It was therefore easier to gain wide support…" (Abbott, 1996: 82)

However, it can be argued that Abbott's definition of 'empowerment' does not include the highest level of genuine 'empowerment' as mentioned earlier. The main definitions of

empowerment used in education and social work are largely similar to Freire's concept of *conscientisacion.* His idea on 'true education' from his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) is also key to this research. There are three elements in Freire's 'true education'. First, true education encourages the oppressed to believe in themselves. Second, this self-discovery experience "cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action; [third,] nor can it be limited to mere activism, but must include serious reflection: only then will it be a praxis." (Freire, 1972: 47) The challenges of Freire's *conscientisacion* are the 'fear of freedom', fatalism and self-depreciation of the oppressed. "People can flee from their freedom or they can resist their freedom in fear, or they can never realize their freedom because the mythifications of the dominant ideology which denies the existence of their freedom…" (Glass, 1996: 44) This occurs when the oppressed are submerged in their situation from economic, social and political domination in which critical awareness are practically impossible (Freire, 1972). At the same time, there is another interrelated challenging myth which Chambers (1995) calls the 'self-sustaining myth'. It occurs "when uppers are told what lowers think they want to hear. Myths represented by villagers for reasons of hope of gain, fear of penalty, or self-respect and self-identity, can be accepted and disseminated by outsiders as the reality." (Ibid: 40-41)

4. Conclusion: the 'Architecture of Empowerment'

This research is interested in exploring the debates of participation and empowerment in the context of architectural practice. "[I]s the creative act of the architect so embedded in the exercise of individuality that it cannot be divorced from the disempowerment of others?" (Serageldin, 2000: 266). In theory, the term 'architecture of empowerment' is "a built environment which responds to the needs of the poor and destitute, while respecting their humanity and putting them in charge of their own destinies." (Serageldin, 1997: 8) At the same time, Till (2005) argued that participation should not be perceived as a convenient excuse for a mediocre piece of art but that it was worthwhile in terms of social or political values and even in enabling and contributing to a higher value in architecture. It is "not just to a better future for the users of the built environment, but also a better future for architectural practice." (Till, 2005: 41) Serageldin (1997) emphasized that

> "The architecture of empowerment is not an abandonment of the traditional role of the architects as form-giver, or of the urban planner as land-use specialist; rather, it is an enrichment of these professions. Just as a deeper appreciation of environmental issues does not restrict the creativity of architects, but adds an extra dimension to their work, so this deeper understanding of the needs of the bulk of humanity makes architecture and urban planning – to the extent that they are disciplines concerned

> with creating a better built environment for humans – more effective and more sensitive professions." (Serageldin 1997: 8)

The practice of 'architecture of empowerment' is claimed to be an expansion of the definition of creativity and innovation of architects (Pearson, 2004). However, it is important to point out that Serageldin (1997) who defined the term 'architecture of empowerment' did not clearly address the role of architects, although he mentioned the roles of the private sector, civil society and international development assistance. It is ambiguously argued that architects play a role as supporter giving crucial information regarding architectural techniques and facilitating multi-party dialogue. The challenges of the new values, knowledge and skills of the architects who nurture the 'architecture of empowerment' and the barriers to alternative architectural education supporting the practice are not addressed. Compared to the ambiguous roles of development practitioners as provider, supporter and catalyst as proposed by Blackburn and Holland (1998a), this research will explore the roles of architects as the three roles when working with urban poor communities. Moreover, how can architectural practice and education respond to the libertarian form of development and education with an attempt to achieve an 'architecture of empowerment' which responds to the great challenges posed by slums? What are the obstacles to a new architectural professionalism and an alternative architectural education? The next chapter explores the new architectural professionalism and education towards the idea of 'architecture of empowerment.'

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Chapter 3: Towards an 'Architecture of Empowerment': Shaping an Alternative Architectural Professionalism and Education

1. Introduction

The aim of this research is to learn from and reflect on the *ad hoc* practice of community architects concerning their professionalism in order to explore the implications for the new architectural education. This research defines 'alternative architectural education' as the integration of the 'new architectural professionalism' of architects who are working 'with' poor urban communities with the new architectural content nurturing different values of the three architect's roles of provider, supporter and catalyst and the new pedagogy which promotes reflective learning and practice.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the issues of poverty alleviation and informal settlements appeared and disappeared from the urban poor housing agenda and architectural practice and education in different phases. Conventional architects are not familiar with how to deal with the reality of poor communities. The field is unknown, unpredictable and uncomfortable for architects who concern about their professional security. The duplicity of participation and empowerment and the complex notions of power relations amongst different actors in a participatory design process challenges architectural values, knowledge and skills among a new generation of community architects. The research assumes that the conventional professionalism of architects is not enough to deal with the challenges and unfamiliar reality of informal settlements.

This research draws inspiration from the researcher's previous study on "Occupied Spaces and Materials Used in Urban Poor Houses." (Tovivich, 2002) The previous study of ten houses in informal settlements in Bangkok showed that despite limited conditions of location, land, budget, time, construction tools and materials, the urban poor are capable of expressing their own creativity in space adaptability. The urban poor applied low-cost or free materials, basic structures and local construction skills in building their houses in a way that responds to their basic needs. In order to survive, the urban poor have to be 'creative' in solving their shelter problems under difficult conditions.

With respect to the materials used, slum dwellers creatively adapted scrap materials as their building materials. Many houses were built under a budget of 2,000 baht (approximately 40 Pounds) by using cheap or free scrap materials. The cheapest house in the study cost merely 10 Baht (approximately 20 Pence) to build – around 3 Baht/m^2 (approximately 6 Pence/m^2). Additionally, there is high flexibility in the space used for multi-purpose areas. For example, the same room can be used for sleeping, dinning, and as a

living area depending on the different needs and time of day. Also, because most slum dwellers built houses by themselves, they know how to design and use their space accordingly. Finally, it should be noted that their designs do not fit any architectural 'standard'.

Box 3-1: Tetra Pak house

A slum house used Tetra Pak packaging paper to wrap cheap old plywood to protect it from the rain. The reflective surface helps reflect heat in the summer time. The size of the house was 3.3 m^2. It cost 10 Baht (3 Bath/m^2) to construct and it was built by two workers in a day. The owner designed a window detail to prevent the rain from entering the house.

Box 3-2: A new function for old materials

A house in an informal settlement used an old telephone receiver as a doorknob

Source: Tovivich, 2002

Box 3-3: Tin-can house

A house under-construction in a relocating programme adapted tin cans in many architectural elements – a concrete mould for building a column, floor tiles, roof tiles, window panes, and wall claddings.

Source: Tovivich, 2002

Box 3-4: Flexible space

Bedroom/dining room /living room: space can be used flexibly through time.

Source: Tovivich, 2002

It is important to emphasize that it is not helpful to aestheticize poverty as did many modernist architects appreciating the aesthetics of vernacular architecture in rural areas. It is risky for architects to use the creativity of the urban poor merely as their individual artistic inspiration. The point is that it has to be recognised that the *status quo* of their living conditions is not acceptable. The more important and challenging question to ask is what should architects do, if they have to 'improve' it?

Although the new architectural professionalism has hardly been addressed in the discipline, there are a number of *ad hoc* practice of community architects around the world, including Thailand, where the latest governmental housing policies for the urban poor promoted and institutionalized the idea of participation and empowerment. This research aims to contribute to the new architectural professionalism by reflecting on their practice. This research is inspired by the literature in the field of 'action science', 'theories of action', and reflection on 'reflection-in-action' (Forester, 1999, Argyris and Schon, 1974, Argyris et al., 1985, Forester, 1989, Schon, 1983, Schon, 1987). Argyris and Schon (1974) stated that individuals are programmed with values, knowledge and skills. As Forester (1999: 236) said "academics can theorize, but practitioners must improvise." This research focuses on 'theories of action', which comprises the 'espoused theories' and 'theories-in-use', of architects. Argyris et al. (1985: 80-81) noted that "espoused theories are those that an individual claims to follow", but the theories-in-use are those that actually govern the

individual's action (Argyris and Schon, 1974). The researcher compares the interrelationship between them with the duplicity of 'participation' and 'empowerment', because development practitioners and organizations often exploit this idealistic jargon in practice for efficiency and cost-effectiveness rather than social justice and empowerment, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Because the focus of this research is on professionalism, it is important to discuss this term. Moore (1970 as cited in Schon, 1983: 22) stated that the normative character of professions is based on "(1) the substantive field of knowledge that the specialist professes to command and (2) the technique of production or application of knowledge over which the specialist claims mastery." Schon (1983: 23) added that the normative "systematic knowledge base of a profession is thought to have four essentials – specialized, firmly bounded, scientific and standardized." He continued to argue that 'reflective practitioners' are different from the normative professionals.

> "Under the perspective of reflective practice, professionals are neither the heroic avant-garde of the Technological Program nor villainous elites who prevent people from taking control of their lives. Professionals are more appropriately seen, I think, as participants in a larger societal conversation; when they play their parts well, they help that conversation to become a reflective one" (Schon, 1983: 346)

The conventional type of professionals could be compared to the 'expert' types of conventional and public architects as mentioned in the previous chapter. The role of these architects is as 'provider'. Based on Schon's assertion, the professionalism of the 'reflective practitioners' is closer to the roles of 'supporter' and 'catalyst' which are the centre of this research.

Schon's idea of reflective practitioners is parallel to the idea of 'action scientists', which also greatly inspires this research. Argyris et al. (1985: 78) noted that action science builds on an epistemology of practice that sees practical knowledge as a realm of tacit knowing that can be made explicit through reflective inquiry. The domain of action science is characterized by the interpenetration of empirical, interpretive and normative claims. It intends to produce knowledge that is 'optimally incomplete' which can be filled in as the situation requires. This calls for new professional values and it links new knowledge and skills of improvisation, which is parallel to Schon's (1983) reflection-in-action as discussed in the next sections.

This chapter starts the discussion from the new professional values, knowledge and skills of architects underlying the practice of 'architecture of empowerment.' It discusses the changes of architectural professionalism from conventional type of architects to the new one.

Conventional architectural education is the source of learning in conventional architecture. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the alternative architectural education to support the new professionalism of community architects is hardly studied. Therefore, the chapter explores the new architectural content and pedagogic mechanism from some examples of alternative architectural education. Finally, to understand the new professionalism of 'reflective' community architects, it is important to gain reflection on practice from *ad hoc* community architects. The 'evaluation of theories of action' (Argyris and Schon, 1974) is employed as a conceptual framework for this research because it helps to shape the new architectural values, knowledge and skills by addressing internal consistency, congruence, effectiveness and testability of the action and values of their theory of action.

2. From the Conventional to the New Professionalism of the Community Architect: the Values Underlying Practice

'Values' mean "one's principles or standards; one's judgement of what is valuable or important in life." (Thompson et al., 1995: 1549) It also means ethical ideals and beliefs (Jary and Jary, 1995) in which refers to "statements of what should be, rather than of what is." (Bruce and Yearley, 2006: 314)

> "Values had power in social life because of (a) their element of moral suasion (to do x was good; not to do x was not so good, even bad), (b) the sanctions that would or could be visited on transgressors of them, and (c) their transmission to new generations via socialization." (Spates, 1983: 28)

Values are closely linked to knowledge (Forester, 1999, Argyris and Schon, 1974, Forester, 1989, Argyris et al., 1985). "Values in objects cannot be discovered apart from human behaviour relating to the objects. Internal states cannot be observed apart from action. Thus, what people do is all that can be known about their values." (Adler, 1956: 272) In practice, values determine "problem setting" which is a very important phase in action science. "From the perspective of Technical Rationality, professional practice is a process of problem *solving*," (Schon, 1983: 39 originally emphasized) but in practice, problems are hardly clearly identified or present themselves as givens. 'How to act' or the choice of purposes and practical reasoning involve value judgement, ethics and moral reasoning (Argyris et al., 1985).

In relation to values, Schon (1983) emphasizes a focus on the professional-client relationship. He distinguishes between the 'expert' and 'reflective' practitioners. First, the former presumes to know, regardless of their uncertainty. The latter presumes to know, but acknowledge that they are not the only ones who have relevant and important knowledge. In other words, 'reflective' practitioners value both their own and their client's knowledge.

Second, expert practitioners maintain a distance from their clients and hold onto the role of the expert. As Schon put it, “give the client a sense of my expertise, but convey a feeling of warmth and sympathy as a sweetener”. (ibid: 300) Reflective practitioners seek out connections to the thoughts and feelings of the clients. They allow for the clients to develop a respect for the practitioners whose knowledge emerges from discoveries in the situation. Third, expert practitioners look for deference and status in the expert-client relationship. Reflective practitioners look for a sense of freedom and of real connection with the clients. In other words, the normative professionals use their special status to control and coerce their clients, which is necessary because “beneath the mystery of professional expertise lies ignorance and manipulation.” (ibid: 340)

Healey (1997)’s notion on ‘social learning’ also reflects the values of the ‘reflective’ practitioner by promoting mutual and group learning processes. Healey refers to Schon’s notion on the professionalism of ‘reflective’ practitioners and stated that it is believed that people learn from doing and their theories are developed in action. Reflective learning emerges through dialogue and social interaction. “The perception that knowledge and understanding are produced through social interactive processes decisively shifts the understanding strategy-making work from analytical and managerial technologies to social ones.” (ibid: 258) This is contrast to the values of ‘expert’ practitioners as mentioned above. However, Rein and Schon (1993 as cited in Healey, 1997) noted complex power relations of many stakeholders as a challenging factor for group learning process. This is discussed in the next section.

Reflective practice promotes ‘double-loop learning’ rather than ‘single-loop learning.’ That means “[w]hen a practitioner becomes a researcher into his[sic] own practice, he[sic] engages in a continuing process of self-education.” (Schon, 1983: 299) Double-loop learning concerns encountering conflicts. It “changes the governing variables (the “setting”) of one’s programs and causes ripples of change to fan out over one’s whole system of theories-in-use.” (Argyris and Schon, 1974: 19)

> “In single-loop learning, we learn to maintain the field of constancy by learning to design actions that satisfy existing governing variables. In double-loop learning, we learn to change the field of constancy itself…” (ibid: 19)

Since time of ancient Egypt, conventional architectural design and profession has been significantly related to the role of ‘expert’ and the individual self-achievement of an architect as opposed to the reflective practice defined by Schon (1983). Lewis (1985) describes typical reasons why one wants to be an architect. The reasons include social status as architects who then often create monumental design for monumental clients; the lure of fame and recognition through the publicity of their buildings and publication of what they do,

say or write; immortality as “architects can leave behind architecture as monuments to themselves” (ibid: 8); helping and teaching others as most architects feel an obligation not only to provide shelter but also to instruct and inspire the users towards their design; and the ‘freedom to do your own thing’ as “There is a kind of ego satisfaction and feeling of exceptionality that stems from being unique and different...” (ibid: 17). It is important to note that these reasons clearly reflect the values of a provider architect who design to control and fulfil their own egoistic achievement.

For conventional architectural practice, architects have always been at the heart of the design process. The architect’s creativity has been claimed as the key to a design’s success, but what about the creativity of others? On the one hand, the idea of valuing the creativity of the poor is not something new. It came about with the idea of the study of ‘vernacular architecture’, a very good example of the architectural education movement, which turned the ‘formal’ architectural paradigm upside-down by merely admiring ‘privileged architecture’ to being able to notice and appreciate local wisdom in a ‘non-pedigreed architecture.’ (Rudofsky, 1964)[1]

Rapoport (1969) suggested many reasons why architects should be taught about non-pedigreed architecture. The first reason is because these houses and shelters were the direct expression of changing values, perceptions and ways of life. Second, the study “can offer an insight into the basic nature of shelter and ‘dwelling,’ of the design process and the meaning of ‘basic needs’” (Rapoport, 1969: 12). Nevertheless, appreciating vernacular architecture did not guarantee ‘appropriate’ results. Many modernist architects, including Le Corbusier, have expressed their admiration for this type of ‘folk wisdom’. The problem is that they have tended to be interested in it only as an autonomous form of romantic artistic/aesthetical inspiration (Habraken, 2005). Nevertheless, the study of vernacular architecture seems to successfully promote wisdom and creativity in the buildings of the ‘rural’ poor. Then, what about local wisdom in the ‘urban’ poor’s shelters or slums?

Fraser’s photographic book, ‘Shack Chic’, illustrates what Fraser considered as ‘true beauty’ in houses built by people in informal settlements. Fraser acknowledged that the people did not “take pleasure in the poverty they live in, they stand proud in the face of it. These are people who are doing the best they can with the little they have…” (Fraser, 2002). However his concern focused immensely on the physical aesthetics of slums. Turner (1976) and Alexander et al. (1985) were concerned with the informal production of houses conducted by low-income groups, which was the “right for every family to control their own immediate environment” (Alexander et al., 1985:157), although they did not consider this a direct

[1] The exhibition ‘Architecture without Architects’ at New York Museum of Modern Art in 1964 which contained over 150 photographs of anonymous buildings and settings taken by architect Bernard Rudofsky, brought attention to some of the non-pedigreed architecture. The exhibition facilitated the establishment of vernacular architecture study in the late 1960’s. NALBANTOGLU, G. B. (2000) Beyond Lacks and Excess: Other Architectures/Other Landscapes. *Journal of Architectural Education,* 54**,** 20-27.

contribution to labour. Neuwirth's (2005) argument of survival strategies of low-income groups is parallel with Correa and Frampton's (1996) considerations of the urban poor's capability to manage their life under limited living situations. Oliver (2003) also mentioned local wisdom in the buildings of informal settlements, yet in a realistic manner. He mentioned the unsanitary, unhealthy and inappropriate quality of lives in informal settlements. He pointed out that in informal settlements there were indicators of the emergence of new vernacular architectural traditions with accumulated knowledge from generations to generations over time. Each informal settlement also differed from others, due to the migrants' places of origin. At the same time, it reflected the character of the urban area which the migrants are a part of.

The new values of the new professionalism of community architects challenges the distribution of power in architects-client relationship. This calls for new architectural values. To what extent will an architect be willing to work as a facilitator or an enabler in practice? Correa asked:

> "[w]ould modern architects be willing to participate in building in this manner? Probably not, since all our training encourages us to 'con' the client into building *his* [sic] house *our* way. Alternatively, we follow the other extreme: we move among the poor as if they were a terrible disaster area, fancying ourselves Florence Nightingale among the wounded. What an architect must bring to bear on the situation is neither the prima donna performance nor the Red Cross bit; he [sic] must bring what the site *mistri* has always brought, which is compatibility, experience and high visual sense. (Correa, 1980: 49)

Many times, architects who employ participatory design and/or work with non-elite clients, think of themselves as 'do-gooders' whose duty was to bestow the benefits of their architectural knowledge on less favoured groups (Jackson, 1995). It means employing participatory design "not simply as a good citizen or samaritan, but as an architect, and by finding ways to bring to bear all the specialised knowledge one has, and be being willing to learn something new in the process." (Woods, 1995: 91)

It is important to note that the participatory design practice of community architecture should not be perceived as a sort of *laisser faire* of professionalism. Bell (2004) stated that the client is an expert on their needs and the architect is the expert at translating these needs into graphic forms, space, and the use of materials. Bell emphasized that the architect should not become merely the draftsperson for the client. One of the most important questions for architects to ask themselves is where should they stop with their professional intervention? (Habraken, 1980) For Bell, "The architect is the form-giver, but the content for the form comes from the client" (Bell, 2004: 30). However, this could be criticised as being appropriate

merely for the consultation level of participation. Kroeker and Singh (2007) stated that although architects can hardly be 'insiders', they can contribute a positive perspective from a distance. Architects can analyze existing conditions giving new direction from a perspective that insiders may not have. C. Richard Hatch (1984 as cited in Ward, 1996) argued for looking at architecture as a medium for community building, architecture can help users reflect on their roles, on themselves, on their power and on their ability to take control of their environment. This can create and develop critical consciousness. These qualities propose the new roles of architects as supporters and catalysts towards the 'architecture of empowerment.' Wade (2004) stated that participatory design was about 'shared expertise' between the architect and the community, in which the process should "provide an opportunity for the client to realize they are the expert on their needs and priorities…" (Wade, 2004: 40) These statements imply the use of the architectural design process as a tool for Freire's first step of *conscientisacion* – to support the oppressed to believe in themselves. This also relates to Rowlands's personal dimension of empowerment – to encourage 'power from within' the poor as discussed in the next section.

In relation to the ideal of participation and empowerment, Till (2005: 27) stated that "full participation is an ideal, but an impossible one to achieve in architecture" because the final power resides with the person with the most architectural knowledge – that is an architect. He continued that

> "[w]hat is needed, therefore, is another form of participation that is realistic enough to acknowledge the imbalances of power and knowledge, but at the same time works with these imbalances in a way that transforms the expectations and futures of the participants. Let us call this type of participation *transformative participation* as an active signal of its opposition to the passive nature of placatory participation" (Till, 2005: 27).

Ward (1996) stated that architecture often plays an integral role in the disempowerment process, celebrating the activity of the powerful at the expense of the powerless. Ward calls for social architecture which is "the practice of architecture as an instrument for progressive social change" (ibid: 27). At the same time, 'socially responsible design' "is critical of existing asymmetrical social structures and relationships of power and seeks to redistribute power and resources more equitably…" (Stephan Marc Klein, 1993 as cited in Dutton and Mann, 1996: 18)

> "The making of architecture is a social practice…Much of what we know of institutions, the distribution of power, social relations, cultural values, and everyday life is mediated by the built environment…To make architecture is ... a *political*

> *act*…Architecture, then, as discourse, discipline, and form, operates at the intersection of power…" (Dutton and Mann, 1996:1)

The statement of looking at architectural design as a political act calls for a new architectural knowledge concerning the complex notions of power relations amongst different actors in a design process.

3. From the Conventional to the New Professionalism of the Community Architect: the Knowledge Underlying Practice

This research also focuses on knowledge in the action of practitioners. Argyris et al. (1985) defined 'practical knowledge' as "knowledge in the service of action." There are three considerations (Argyris et al., 1985: 36-37):

- Knowledge must be designed with a concern for the limitations of human capabilities to seek and to process information in action.
- Knowledge formation should be relevant in forming the purpose as well as in achieving the purpose already formed. In other words, problem 'setting' is as important as problem 'solving'.
- Values underpin knowledge. To make a decision, an actor forms a purpose that, expressed in action, provides the best evidence for what that actor values.

'Tacit knowledge' is a type of knowledge in action. Argyris and Schon (1974: 9-10) noted that 'tacit knowledge' occurs when "we know more than we can tell and more than our behaviour consistently shows." It is when "we recognize one face from thousands without being able to say how we do so." (Argyris and Schon, 1974: 10) Argyris et al. (1985: 50) added that tacit knowledge is a "hypothesis to explain the act that human beings frequently perform skilfully. The features of skilful action are that it is effective, it appears to be effortless, and the actor need not think about how to do it." Tacit knowledge relates very much with the idea of 'knowing-in-action' in which Schon (1987: 23-25) described as to become skilful without intermediate reasoning. It refers to the sorts of know-how we reveal in action.

The conventional architectural knowledge described by Duffy and Hutton (1998) encompasses two characteristics. The first is the complex combination of understanding of user requirements and the capacity of buildings to accommodate those requirements. The second, which they put a greater emphasis on, concerns the primacy of personal judgement, such as, taste, originality, striking out, sense of place and appropriate cultural message (Duffy and Hutton, 1998). In relation to the new professionalism of community architects, Serageldin

(1997) who defined the word ‘architecture of empowerment’ referred to the new architectural knowledge as follows:

> “Design for the poor must leave them options for the future. The type of architecture that they require ... [shall encourage] their incremental inputs, that sees building more as process than as product. They must feel that they are the masters of their immediate surroundings, that they have a firm foundation on which to build a better future for themselves and their children. There should be space for expansion...to accommodate the next generation around them, creating stronger links and reducing vulnerability. This helps build the social capital of the community and actually increases their ability to improve their well-being.” (Serageldin, 1986: 266)

The new architectural knowledge Serageldin describes includes the notion of participation and empowerment as the key. Additionally, there are the notions of flexibility, adaptability, creating community links and vulnerability alleviation in architectural design process and product.

Referring to Lewis (1985), first, for this research, architectural design knowledge contains house design, site planning principles, including building orientation and climatic design, building materials and architectural technology. Second, the socio-cultural knowledge contains the notion of architects related to the study of human behaviour, users’ way of life, vernacular design and cultural context of sites. It relates to architectural history and theory study of architecture from different chronology and geography, including a history of indigenous architecture. These two types of knowledge are taught in most conventional architectural schools, with a greater emphasis on the design knowledge. Third, by contrast, political-institutional knowledge is an unfamiliar subject in conventional architectural theory and practice. It is important to note that the researcher situates this type of political-institutional acknowledgement in three ways in this research – 1) the relationships between the state, civil society and the private sector, 2) the relationships between the architect as the ‘expert’ and the community and 3) the notion of power relations within a community. The first two categories are discussed in Chapter 6 concerning the new architectural values of the alternative architectural professionalism of community architects. The third category is explored in Chapter 7 concerning the new architectural knowledge. Political-institutional knowledge contains the knowledge of local capacity building and the acknowledgement of the process of communication with local communities and community facilitation, people’s organizational development and institutional management. This knowledge relates greatly to the theory of participation and empowerment.

As Rein and Schon (1993 as cited in Healey, 1997) pointed out, complex power relations of many stakeholders is a challenging factor for group learning process. In addition,

Richardson and Connelly (2005) mentioned that the ideal form of consensus is not practical, and that ultimately, out of necessity actors (practitioners and other participants) decide to achieve pragmatic consensus in practice, which inherently excludes certain (difficult) stakeholders, issues and outcomes. Therefore, the consensus building process, by its very nature, allows the initiator to wield a great deal of power. Thus, acknowledging the exercise of power in a participatory design process within a community is very important, especially for the political-institutional knowledge of the new architectural professionalism. It is important to note that the notions of power in architectural design process are rarely raised in architectural discourse.

The discussions of the dimensions of the impact of empowerment vary according to the different analyses of types of power. One of the most basic questions to start the discussion about 'power' is "whether power is finite and held by particular people or groups or whether it is an infinite resource open to all to grasp." (Stewart and Taylor, 1995: 12) Fernandez-White (1983) stated that power can only be taken not given, and conflict is inevitable in organizing people for participatory power. In her view, power is a zero-sum game that cannot be taken without reducing the power of others.

On the contrary, many interpretations based on Foucault's theoretical position argued that power is an infinite resource that any actor can take by engaging in the discourse (Stewart and Taylor, 1995; Craig and Mayo, 1995 as cited in Oakley and Clayton, 2000; Masaki, 2004). Spaces created with one purpose may be used in something totally different by those who engage in them. In other words, political space can hardly be prejudged and everyday resistance and struggle should not be underestimated. However, Vincent (2004) argued that there is an ambiguity in romanticised actions read as resistance implying them as a 'heroic rejection' of state development, capitalism or modernity. Many times what is read as 'resistance' may be the consequence of the local's lack of enthusiasm or cynicism about the possibility of achieving their own goals. The question to ask is "if there is, indeed, resistance, what exactly is being resisted?" (Vincent, 2004: 111)

In relation to the resistance discourse, Scotts' work (1985) has been referred to by various sources (Cornwall, 2004, Williams, 2004). His 'weapons of the weak' suggests that the powerless can leverage the powerful by engaging in political spaces, e.g. through "pretending not to understand, remaining silent, staging an argument, talking all at once…" (Cornwall, 2004: 82) Masaki (2004) based on Foucault's disciplinary power, states that there are productive features in the exercise of power, not only oppressive aspects and it is important to move beyond the tyranny and transformation antinomy. Even under 'tyrannical' circumstances, "power falls into the hands of both 'dominant' as well as 'less powerful' players, thus interweaving domination with resistance in ongoing power contestation" (Masaki, 2004: 126) Masaki further argued that the tyrannical attributes inherent in

community participation coexist with transformative forces; oppression and resistance are so interwoven; and 'transformation' are immanent in everyday power struggles, rather than standing in opposition to 'tyranny'.

If community participation is about challenging power-relations, everyday struggle, and conflicts, then to understand how empowerment can be achieved, it is important to look at how 'power' is exercised. Nelson and Wright (1995:8) defined power as a "Description of a relation, not a 'thing' which people 'have'." They illustrate three models of power – 'power to', 'power over' and 'decentred' model of power. Comparably, Rowlands (1997) defined four forms of power – 'power over', 'power to', 'power with' and 'power from within'.

'Power over' relates to the definition of power described as zero-sum. It concerns controlling power and involves an attempt to access political decision-making. First, referring to Nelson and Wright (1995), the model is based on the premise that power can be found through observable conflicts, "where one party prevailed over another and made them do what they would not otherwise have done. This was phased as 'A has power over B'." (ibid: 9) This is comparable with Lukes (1974)'s one-dimensional view of power. Its mechanisms or the expressions and forms of power are formal institutions, officials and instruments by force and coercion.

Second, Bachrach and Baratz (1970 as cited in Nelson and Wright, 1995) added another dimension. This one is comparable with Lukes' (1974) two-dimensional view of power. It occurs when conflicts are covert and hidden. It involves examining both decision-making and nondecision-making. Its mechanisms or the expressions and forms of power are exclusion, delegitimisation, and manipulation. It occurs "when one party established barriers (political values and institutional practices) which prevented others from voicing their interests, let alone getting them on the agenda" (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 9). It happens when *B* is excluded from the decision making made and benefited by *A*.

Third, Lukes (1974) defined the ultimate level of the exercise of 'power over' – the three-dimensional view. It is an invisible and structural form of power. It takes place when "interests are institutionalised within society, and structures of power are accepted and internalized without question or even recognition" (Stewart and Taylor, 1995: 11). Arguably, it is the most challenging to deal with, because the most effective and insidious use of power is to prevent conflicts from arising in the first place. To "get another or others to have the desires you want them to have – that is, to secure their compliance by controlling their thoughts and desires" (Lukes, 1974: 23). In other words, *A* may exercise power over *B* by getting *B* to do what *B* 'actually' does not want to do, but *A* influences, shapes, and determines his/her very wants to *B*. In this case, *B*'s 'real' interests are not revealed or recognised, not even by *B* him/herself. It happens where crucial information is concealed or

inaccessible (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002). The absence of a conflict of interest will be identifiable as cases of 'influence' but not of 'power exercise' (Lukes, 1974). However, Lukes pointed out that the question of whether rational persuasion is a form of power or influence cannot easily be resolved. A key issue is that *B*'s 'real interest' has to be revealed and recognised by *B* him/herself. This can be done through education promoting confidence and change.

'Power to' and the 'decentred' model of power' challenges the definition of power described as zero-sum. 'Power to' is a generative power (Nelson and Wright, 1995, Rowlands, 1997) and the 'decentred' model of power (Ferguson, 1990 as cited in Nelson and Wright, 1995) proposes that "[p]ower is not a substance possessed and exercised by any person or institution conceived of as a 'powerful' subject. Power is subjectless and is an apparatus consisting of discourse, institutions, actors and a flow of events." (ibid: 10)

The 'power to' model suggests that "like human abilities, power can grow infinitely if you work at it, and 'growth' of one person does not necessarily negatively affect another." (Nelson and Wright, 1995: 8) Nelson and Wright stated that 'power to' concerns personal, relational and collective levels of attributes; as Rowlands (1997: 15) noted, empowerment impacts at three levels.

- Personal: developing a sense of self, individual confidence and capacity with an aim to undo the effects of internalized oppression.
- Relational: developing the ability to negotiate and influence the nature of a relationship and decisions made within it.
- Collective: individuals working together as a group to achieve extensive impact which one could not achieve alone.

There are different kinds of knowledge attached to each attribute. The personal level of Nelson and Wright's definition of 'power to' is comparable with Rowlands' definition of 'power from within' with a reference from William (1995 as cited in Rowlands, 1997) and Kabeer (1994 as cited in Rowlands, 1997) – a spiritual strength, self acceptance and self respect which lead to respect and acceptance of others. It is important to emphasize that 'power from within' has to be self-generated and cannot be given. Moreover, the collective level of Nelson and Wright's definition of 'power to' is comparable with Rowlands' definition of 'power with', with a reference from William (1995 as cited in Rowlands, 1997: 13) – "a sense of the whole being greater than the sum of the individuals, especially when a group tackles problems together."

The notion of the exercise of power relates to the new professionalism of community architects at two levels. First, the new architectural professionalism calls for the redistribution of power in the client-architect relationship and this relates directly to the new architects'

values towards the authority and control of their expertise in a design process. Second, working with community members requires an architectural knowledge which understands the notion of power relations within a community, which has never been brought in to conventional architectural schools. Not only does the new architectural professionalism call for new architectural values and knowledge, but also for new skills. This is discussed in the next section.

Finally, although it is not in a focus of this research, there is another dimension of power relation which is important – power relation within a team or amongst different workers from multi-disciplinary, such as, community organizers, public health workers, sociologists, lawyers, engineers, planners, social entrepreneurs and environmentalists. Clearly, there is knowledge of architects and other disciplines to be brought in local community development. The limits of the 'community architect's knowledge and skills' defined in this research are explored through an investigation of the architects' design and non-design knowledge and skills related to housing provision. Certainly the boundary is unclear and an aim of this research is to observe what type of knowledge and skills are mentioned as important by the architects in practice, in order to shape the boundary and to explore the architects' acknowledgement of multi-disciplinary knowledge of others and team-working skills in the new architectural professionalism.

4. From the Conventional to the New Professionalism of the Community Architect: the Skills Underlying Practice

"'Skills' are dimensions of the ability to behave effectively in situations of action…Learning to put a theory of action into practice and learning a skill are similar processes." (Argyris and Schon, 1974: 12) From the Oxford Dictionary, a 'skill' means expertise, practised ability and facility in action (Thompson et al., 1995). This research values skills as important as knowledge, just as practice is as important as theory. For this research, 'skill' does not mean 'expertness' in the normative sense of professionals, because if skills dominate, the professionals may forget to reflect on their actions. Skills have been considered secondary kinds of knowledge. Although skills are useful in practice, without reflection on skills, thus can lead to a single-loop or self-sealing learning approach. For this research, 'skills' is defined as the capability of practitioners to effectively act and reflect so as to improvise under unpredictable situations.

For a practitioner to be skilful in action relates greatly to Schon's (1987) 'knowing-in-action', which is spontaneous and dynamic. The idea moves beyond being attached to static facts, procedures rules, and theories. It argues that to study or to learn merely about technical rationality – theoretical-based knowledge – is not enough, but to 'do' or to 'practice'

facilitates a better understanding – learning from doing. However, in practice, even though a practitioner may feel spontaneous and familiar with an act, 'surprises' can emerge at anytime as problems in practice tend to be chaotic and complex. Schon (1987) noted that there are two approaches to react to these 'surprises'. One is to stop and think of what might go wrong. This is what he calls 'reflection-*on*-action'. The other is what Schon calls 'reflection-*in*-action', or improvising and reshaping what we are doing while we are doing it. 'Reflection-in-action' questions the structure of assumptions of knowing-in-action. It is about trial and error and on-the-spot experimentation. It concerns improvisation skills.

Serageldin (1997) said that to work with poor communities does not require architectural skills much different from working with wealthy clients – engaging in dialogue, which is often argumentative, and listening to the needs of the rich and poor. However Serageldin mentioned that their requirements and priorities are very different. This research agrees with the statement and at the same time argues that there is an extra skill which distinguishes the conventional from community architects – participatory design skills.

Academic sources (Wates, 2000, Hamdi and Goethert, 1997, Puthod, 2000, Chambers, 2002, NIF, 1995) illustrate various tools and techniques of participatory design. Few references (for example, Hamdi and Goethert, 1997) are more concerned with the complexity of the participatory process than others. Most books on participatory design tools and techniques are presented in a form of simplistic catalogues of different participatory tools and techniques. Most references stated general principles[2] and provide lists of various methods[3] and scenarios. Although the sources intentionally give the list to be used for inspiration, not as blueprints, the scripts are often very generic, simplistic and descriptive. For example, in Wates (2000), the role of the expert as 'professional enablers' were mentioned with short lines simply described as "helping local people achieve their goals, rather than as providers of services and solutions" (ibid: 18). More research on the critical reflection of participatory design tools and techniques used in practice in different contexts are needed in order to shape clearer new architectural skills for the new architectural practice. This research aims to fill this gap.

Not only is there a void in the values, knowledge and skills of the new architectural professionalism towards the 'architecture of empowerment', but a void also exists in architectural education. Despite the development of a great quantity of data, knowledge, information, expertise, technology and even international goodwill from planners, architects,

[2] For examples, Wates (2000) descriptively lists 47 general principles from A-Z, such as, accept different agendas, limitations and varied commitment, agree rules and boundaries, avoid jargon, be honest, transparent, visionary yet realistic, build local capacity, communicate, encourage collaboration, flexibility, learn from others, shared control, visualize, walk before you run and work on location. (ibid: 11)

[3] For examples, action planning event, activity week, architecture centre, art workshop, community profiling, design game, field workshop, ideas competition, mapping, models, newspaper supplement, photo survey, road show and street stall (ibid: 23).

economists and other specialists, in many places the housing situation for low-income earners is getting worse, not better. Hamdi asks a crucial question and calls for alternative architectural education.

> "One reason, amongst all the complex and arguably more important reasons, must be that many professionals are ill prepared in their education to deal with the realities confronting the low income majority, and see much of what is going on as being outside of their professional and disciplinary responsibilities… Emerging trends in development practice place new demands on planning, engineering, urban design and building design…How does, or how should education and educators respond?" (Hamdi, 1996: 1)

The next section discusses the development of conventional architectural education from the past to today concerning the values, knowledge and skills architectural education nurtures through the use of different teaching methods, in order to explore the challenges of alternative architectural education.

5. Learning for Architectural Practice: from Conventional to Alternative Architectural Education

The values which are nurtured in conventional architectural schools are those of the 'expert architects'. The first ever book on architecture was written by Vitruvius in the mid-20s B.C, titled "Ten Books on Architecture". He stated that when architecture achieves a masterful beauty because of its symmetries and harmony, the glory goes to the architect. Such a notion reflects a clear link between the creation of architecture and the feeling of ownership that the architect has towards his or her design. Broadbent (1995) noted that there is really nothing much new in the content of today's architectural education compared to what Vitruvius covered thousands of years ago.

There are two very important architecture schools that influence many other conventional architecture schools today – the Ecole Royale des Beaux-Arts and the Bauhaus. The Academie Royale d'Architecture for Louis XIV was established in 1671 and initially served as a discussion group of distinguished architects who advised the King on architectural matters. By 1717 it had become a two- or three-year course. After a number of changes to its leaders and curriculum, the school became the Ecole Royale des Beaux-Arts in 1819. A Beaux-Arts architect was one who firmly believed that architecture was an art. Its mode of education dominated the sphere of architectural education until the 1920s. When Bauhaus presented a different scheme, the trend shifted (Broadbent, 1995). The

replacement of the Beaux-Arts by Bauhaus as an international model had significant pedagogic and stylistic consequences (Jackson, 1995).

Louis Sullivan, who studied at the Beaux-Arts in 1874, and Frank Lloyd Wright were the most influential detractors of the Beaux-Arts. They described its teaching as artificial and superficial. Many others were also irritated by the mannerisms of the self-conscious and cliquish Beaux-Arts architects (Draper, 1977). In the end, a new era of modern architecture was ushered in. Bauhaus became the most influential school of modern architecture. Gropius, the founder, posited that there should be no distinction between the arts and crafts and the production of architecture. Gropius (1919 as cited in Conrads, 1970) stressed that architects, sculptors, and painters must return to the crafts to create a new guild of craftsmen without the class distinctions that raise an arrogant barrier between craftsmen and artists. This implies a shift in architectural values. Later, Ward (1996) criticised the architectural concern for society at large advocated by the Bauhaus architects as aestheticized and argued that modernism was merely a 'style', ignoring its real content in connection with social agendas. Ward argued that that the 'Bauhaus style' represented a superficial legitimization of form over content and merely supported the domination of cultural elitism.

In relation to knowledge and skills, Vitruvius (Vitruvius and Smith, 2003) stated that good architecture comprised three elements – strength, function and beauty. For the Academie Royale d'Architecture for Louis XIV and the early Beaux-Arts, the study was based on the presumption that students would design with Classical Orders. The core of the study was changed when the Bauhaus approach replaced the Beaux-Arts. At the Bauhaus, students aimed to design and produce prototypes by hand for the mass production of industrialisation (Broadbent, 1995). Meyer, one of the Bauhaus directors, believed that the making of architecture involved not just an individualistic designer but the whole community (Ward, 1996). Thus, he introduced foundation courses on social science, downgrading courses in art and aesthetics. This brought him in confrontation with the other Bauhaus proponents who focussed on the iconographic Bauhaus aesthetics. After 1930, Mies van der Rohe replaced Meyer and promptly changed the school.[4] With regard to architectural content, he eliminated psychology and sociology from the curriculum. There were no longer any live projects or any social content to the work. He concentrated exclusively on aesthetics, reintroducing it as the core of the foundation course in fine art.

In relation to architectural pedagogy, since the time of ancient Egypt, Bannister and Bellamy (1954) stated that someone who wanted to be an 'architect' gained entrance to the skilled crafts by serving as low assistants under mature practitioners. In 13th century Europe,

[4] By August 1932, the Nazis dominated the Dessau City Council. Even though Mies van der Rohe had moved the school to a Berlin suburb, Bauhaus was finally forced to close down in April 1933.

this process was formalized by the urban craft guilds as the apprenticeship system, in which masters took care of their apprentices by providing building instructions, accommodation, food and clothes. An apprentice would repay for this maintenance and training by working for the master for a long time. The advantage of this apprenticeship system was that there was no gap between training and practice. Apprentices worked on real projects; communicated directly with clients and had close contact with builders and workmen.

In the two- or three-year course for the Academie Royale d'Architecture for Louis XIV, students learned drawing and design with their master in the '*ateliers'* or 'studios.' There were two kinds of teaching methods at the Beaux-Arts – theory in the classroom and design in the studio – and both were isolated (Broadbent, 1995). The architectural pedagogy of the isolated studio remains dominant in architectural education today. For the Bauhaus, the method of isolated design studio from the Beaux-Arts remained, but students were encouraged to engage in hands-on experiments in workshops with materials of the time – steel, glass and concrete.

Focussing on today's conventional architectural education, Lewis (1985:43-59) thoroughly illustrated the curricular content.

- First, design is the primary pedagogical activity in architectural schools. Design studio courses, in which students carry out research and design for specific projects and then present a design project for review by a 'jury'[5], typically account for 35-40% of the total credit hours and may consume 50-60% of students' time. It includes freehand drawing, constructed drawing, presentation graphics – manual and computer-based methods of rendering drawings and preparing presentations, visual composition and analysis.
- Architectural History and theory study of architecture from different chronology and geography, including a history of indigenous architecture.
- Technology study concerns the knowledge dealing with how designs are implemented and constructed, including Structure, Materials and Methods of Construction, Environmental Controls, Computer-Aided-Design which relates greatly to skills required from today architects and Management of business affair and administration.
- Various electives such as, urban planning, geography, landscape, anthropology, art, sociology, psychology, economics, business administration, civil engineering, history and government and politics.

[5] The jury review is a tradition in architectural schools. During a jury review, students present their drawings and models for evaluations by a group of critics – studio tutors, other invited faculty members and outside guests who may be architects or hypothetical clients. (Lewis, 1985)

According to various references, (Wilkinson, 1977, Nicol and Pilling, 2000b, Hamdi, 1995, Jackson, 1995, Salama and Wilkinson, 2007, Pearce and Toy, 1995), there is a range of comments on the gap between the development of architectural pedagogy and the demanded diversity in the knowledge of architects. Most students still study in an educational environment that is not much different from the days of the Beaux-Arts. At the same time, architectural education today has not attempted to reject modernist ideology. In other words, while there has been a shift from the modern era to the post-modern movement, nothing much has changed in the content of conventional architectural education and pedagogy.

Friedman (1993) argues that to make a real change in architectural education, the changes need to be rooted in the design studio – the heart of architectural education in most architectural schools. Jarrett (2000) pointed out some blind spots of the design studio. He stated that it is too often isolated from ordinary, everyday life, and the 'street;' it can lead to 'studio seclusion', autonomy and narrow-minded thinking; it can reinforce the production of 'objects and signatures;' and it supports the premise of the 'expert', detaching the student from the very forces that induce life in our cities.

Salama (2006) listed a call for a change of conventional architectural education in different approaches.

- Learning from the environment: integrating design research and the systematic observation of users as a form of knowledge in the design process.
- Learning from practice: emphasizing the use of examples from the practice of practitioners to see how they try to achieve conceptual clarity, deal with contextual constraints and design an appropriate response.
- Experiential learning theory: providing a hands-on studio approach and introducing more realistic challenging parameters.
- Exposing architectural students to social relations 'within' a design studio. Open communication amongst and between students and studio tutors is the key. This is to influence changes in the distribution of power within a design studio. It is to encourage students to gain more control over their learning experiences (Austerlitz and Sachs, 2006).
- Role playing to counter a conflict of values while building mutual understanding: introducing reflection on the different needs of future users. The students also need to learn to use everyday language and avoid architectural jargon.
- Play and gaming in studio teaching: this type of teaching method is influenced by Henry Sanoff's gaming techniques in his community design studios in the mid-1970s.
- Action research: research in action that tests hypotheses while design decisions are made, additionally attempting to solve the needs of a particular community.

- Interdisciplinary studios and multi-disciplinary research: students from various disciplines are encouraged to work together and share knowledge and experiences.

All these changes are important both to improve conventional architectural education and to shape the alternative architectural education for the 'architecture of empowerment' which is the focus of this research. There are many architectural educators trying to reshape mainstream design studio pedagogy towards the 'architecture of empowerment.' This is discussed in the next section.

6. Examples of Alternative Architectural Education

With regard to the urban poor housing agenda, the School of Architecture and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology responded to the self-help housing approach by establishing a programme in Urban Settlement Design in Developing Countries focusing on site-and-services housing. The programme was initiated in 1965 by Horacio Caminos, John Turner and John A. Steffian. As a by-product of this course, the book 'Urbanization Primer' (Caminos and Goethert, 1978) was a compilation of notes, observations and working experiences over several years on site-and-services projects of the programme. It is important to note that the book was mainly technical. Increasing community initiative seemed to be employed as a tool for improving cost efficiency. Rapoport (1979) criticised the book by saying that its considerations of economics and engineering alone were not enough to address the housing problems of the urban poor. The book reinforced standardized solutions instead of culturally-specific solutions, avoiding complex analysis in the context of less clear-cut situations. In other words, this perfect manual of site-and-services lacked socio-cultural variables and represented the professionalism of the 'undoubted expert'. (Rapoport, 1979)

Along with the movement of 'community architect in the 1970s in response to the emergence of many CDCs, Curry (2004) emphasized that the community was not the place for class experiments; continuity was mandatory; and to define problems was a continuous process for all participants. Furthermore, considering tradeoffs between the educational benefits for students and the expertise needed to execute a community design project, Feldman (2004) stressed that there was a need to inform community partners of the limited experience of students, their educational requirements and the necessary time commitment for student interaction.

Despite a few attempts, the architectural education movement towards participatory design for society at large was very limited. It clearly diminished by the mid-1980s as political conservatism and economic recession drove architects to revert to their traditional roles

(Ward, 1996). In the 1980s, producing celebrity architects became the norm for most architectural schools in the North and South. The context of architecture from the point of view of the Western celebrity architect was totally different from the projects implemented in the South. This is not surprising because architectural education in the South, as claimed by various academic sources (Serageldin, 1986, Khan, 1989, Steele, 1992, Salama, 1995), merely acted as a 'follower' of the West.

Michel Rios (2004) noted that participatory community design has become more distinct in architectural education and is being practiced in the public and private sectors by many organizations and individuals. More than 30% of North American architectural schools run community-based design and research centres that engage the public in the decision-making process about their built environment. Olid (2004) states that there are many architectural related courses which focus on participatory design, community development and low-income housing. The courses are located around the world including in Spain, Belgium, Sweden, the United Kingdom, South Africa, India and the United States of America.

With regard to new architectural values, there are also examples of architectural courses and workshops that try to integrate the development practice agenda. First, a well-known example is the Rural Studio at Auburn University, USA. The programme emphasizes the importance of a close architect-client relationship. The architectural students are encouraged to stay at Hale County and then design/build 'charity homes' for the poor in the rural area as their group projects. It calls for ethical responsibility and the role of the 'citizen architect' in improving life in the rural community (Mockbee, 2004). Despite its claim to seek design solutions responding to the community's needs, critics say that the Rural Studio is patronizing and insensitive. There are also challenges in building relationships and trust with the targeted community members.

> "[I]t was important to be honest and realized that the design-build project was motivated by their own goals as well. It was when they set aside their own agenda to let a relationship form that they made progress" (Bell, 2004: 28)

In relation to new architectural knowledge of the alternative courses, the researcher had an opportunity to observe participation as one of the workshop facilitators of a week-long ASF-UK Summer School 2005 session at the Eden Project which is an annual architectural workshop organized by the Architecture San Frontieres (ASF) – UK and the Institute for Development in Extreme Environments (IDee). The workshop is aimed at architects and architectural students. The activities were divided into two parts. One was a series of lectures on Shelter and Settlements: Principles of Planning, Poverty, Climate, and Waste, and on Rights-Based Development, and the other was practical training.

In comparing new architectural knowledge, another example is the architectural design studio for second and third year architectural students at the School of Built Environment, Oxford Brookes University, UK[6] in 2006. The studio focused on architectural design in rehabilitating informal communities in a post-disaster setting of an actual project in Bangkok. The studio proposed and focussed on four design phases in community development – 'to provide', 'enable', 'adapt' and 'sustain' (Hamdi, 2006).

Focusing on the teaching methods, the ASF Summer School 2005 workshop prioritized learning from doing and role playing. The twenty-five students were divided into five smaller groups, who then were expected to build a community out of waste materials from The Eden Project's recycling centre within two days. The participants were assigned to role play the urban poor in order to understand how informal communities formed. Based on observations, it is likely that the role playing was effective. At the beginning, the participants argued over materials and quarrelled over the division of space and walkways as if they were the urban poor struggling to build their own houses with limited resources. No one thought about communal space. Afterwards, a sense of community emerged as the participants realised that they could not build everything by themselves. Community space also emerges in a similar spontaneous manner without prior planning. A challenge of the ASF Summer School 2005 lies in maintaining continuity to further develop and nurture understanding and discussions after the workshop ended. Discussions were under way with the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) to allow students or architects interested in development to take the workshop as an official architectural credit for their course and practice. The course has recently been approved as part of RIBA's Continuing Professional Development (CPD) obligations. The short-term workshop is an example of an *ad hoc* solution which tries to transform conventional architectural education through their small interventions.

Likewise, the Rural Studio programme also focuses on 'learning by doing'. Hurley (2004) questioned the extent of the project's continuity after the students moved on to other communities and whether conditions that were created through the projects would return to their prior state. Certainly, the programme's continuity is crucial for both the Rural Studio and ASF Summer School.

In tandem with the Rural Studio and ASF Summer School 2005, the teaching methods of the design studio for the second and third year architectural students at the School of Built Environment, Oxford Brookes University were role playing, planning workshops, working as a group, lectures with basic development theories and case studies, film discussions and hands-on design experiments with scrap materials. The role play and hands-on experiments seemed to be effective. The students were very enthusiastic. However, because of financial constraints, field trips to the real site were not possible. Thus

[6] The design studio was facilitated by Nabeel Hamdi, David Sanderson, Supitcha Tovivich and Melissa Kinnear.

the students had no contact with actual clients. This begs the following question - to what extent can participatory design be taught without making contact with the actual clients and encountering the complexity of live projects? It is certain that role playing could be an effective pedagogical method, but it is limited when it comes to facilitating an understanding of complex situations.

With regard to the alternative architectural teaching methods and skills, , the two week ASF-UK Summer School 2007[7] in Bangkok explored the 'real' context of informal settlements in Bangkok. Its aim was to foster an understanding of the role of an architect as a 'catalyst'. The participants were encouraged to dialogue with actual clients on live projects. They were encouraged to shape their own design brief and define their own design problems and methodology. From observation, it was difficult for both the participants and the tutors. Not every participant was ready to learn by themselves and felt frustrated. At the end, the outcomes were varied – children's toys designed from scrap materials, community mapping models aimed to promote interaction with the local community, data collection from the locals and a photo exhibition attempting to raise self-awareness of the locals. In actual fact, most of the proposed design projects were a mere means to open up dialogue. Advantages of the workshop were its *ad hoc* character. Immense time constraints forced students to improvise and be creative. Challenges had to do with the complexity of dealing with actual clients in their actual context with limited time. Finally, it was important to strike the right balance between the guidelines the tutors provided and the freedom the participants needed to think autonomously and make decisions.

Certainly, the problem is not a lack of architecturally related courses which integrate development practice agenda. The problem is that they are not mainstream. Additionally, it is noteworthy that they are mostly initiated by or located in the North. From the researcher's observation, there are only a few such schools of architecture in the South, e.g. the School of Architecture and Planning, Johannesburg, South Africa; the School of Planning and Architecture in New Delhi; and the Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology (CEPT) in Ahmadabad, India. However, having more architectural courses concerning issues in the South cannot guarantee any explicit change in practice, especially if that means merely to forward duplicitous development jargon – participation and empowerment – into architectural study. This means that a better acknowledgement of the notion of participation and empowerment in theory and practice needs to be embedded in the new architectural knowledge.

In relation to architectural knowledge, Nicol and Pilling (2000a) stated that the architectural curriculum focuses too much on design and ignores other issues such as the

[7] Co-organized by ASF-UK, IDee and the local community architects – Community Architects for Shelter and Environment (CASE)

cultural context of architecture, environmental design, construction and technologies, communication skills and professional studies and management. They proposed ways for improving architectural education which relate to new architectural values – communication, collaboration, and life-long learning. Regarding skills, they stressed the need for greater sensitivity and responsiveness to the user's needs. They argued that architectural schools did not teach students collaborative skills. Skills such as listening, how to extract the brief, negotiation, making presentations and managing architect-client relationships are needed. Teamwork skills to prepare them to work in a cross-disciplinary manner are also important, but most of the design studios focused on individual assessment rather than on group work, encouraging a competitive atmosphere rather than a collaborative one.

Focussing on teaching methods, to educate the reflective practitioner, Dewey (1974: 151 as cited in Schon 1987) argued that the students have to be coached, not taught, to see the world on his or her own behalf and in his or her own way. Schon (1987) argued for teaching unfamiliar situations where problems are uncertain, unique, complex and full of conflicts. Ironically, while Schon exemplified architectural design studio as a prototype of learning by doing and coaching, the design studio itself has a lot of disadvantages. Schon (1987) added in paradoxes and predicaments on learning to design; sometimes the tutor unintentionally 'took over' the student's design when students were confused and did not know what 'design' was all about. Nicol and Pilling (2000a) criticised the traditional form of architectural educational assessment in the 'crit' format as counterproductive because it promoted one-way communication between the presenter and the listener. It also nurtured the student's sense of defensiveness which remained with the students when they graduated, highly influencing future architect-client relationships.

The pursuit of educating the reflective practitioners which Schon proposed greatly relates to what Freire (1972) argued for libertarian education as mentioned in the previous chapter. Freire links the process of knowing with the process of learning through an on-going cycle of action and reflection that leads to the development of a critical awareness about the world in which people live (Koning, 1995). Freire challenged the 'banking concept' of education where the teacher teaches and the students are taught; the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing; the teacher talks and the students submissively listen; and the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the students are merely the objects. The polarisation of the relationship between teacher-students is blurred because the teaching and learning are interweaving and interacting. 'True' communication between the teachers and the students is the key. What will facilitate the oppressed – the students and the poor – to get out of their 'culture of silence' and be ready to communicate and interact? This raises questions regarding the pedagogical mechanisms for both classrooms and development projects. Facilitating dialogue is key. "[D]ialogue cannot exist without humility… How can I dialogue if I always project ignorance onto others and never perceive my

own? Faith in people is an *a priori* requirement for dialogue" (Freire, 1972: 71-72). The tutor's task of the libertarian education is what Schon (1987: 92) called a 'midwife to others' self discovery.' Interactive and reflective communication between architectural educators and students is a key, just as they are crucial in the relationship between architects and community members while working together.

There is a fundamental interrelationship between a new architectural professionalism and alternative architectural education. Both require a practice that encourages the process of *conscientisacion* and the empowerment of poor urban communities and architectural students. This raises questions and challenges the role of architects as 'provider expert' and the role of the architectural educator as paternalistic 'teacher'.

This research argues that reflection from practice is important for educating the new architectural professional. Learning from practice brings advantages to both practitioners and the academic. It supports life-long learning for architectural practitioners and students. More research on reflection from practice of community architects is needed. In relation to new values in architectural education, life-long learning encourages the students to "learn how to learn, learn how to manage and take responsibility for their own learning throughout life." (Nicol and Pilling, 2000a: 11) Reflective practice is the key as discussed in the next section. In conventional architectural education, there are few opportunities in which students can reflect on and evaluate how they learn. They often have little control over their learning process. Design briefs in studio often come imposingly from the tutor's construct. Yanar (2007: 65) stated that the tutor's role is "the possessor and the filter of knowledge…[T]he teacher claims monopoly...Consequently, since the knowledge has already been constructed before the students enters the scene, the student cannot participate in knowledge construction." Yanar argued for more partnership between teachers and students, so "teaching and learning would be a mutually constructed process of shared inquiry into knowledge and knowing." (ibid: 70)

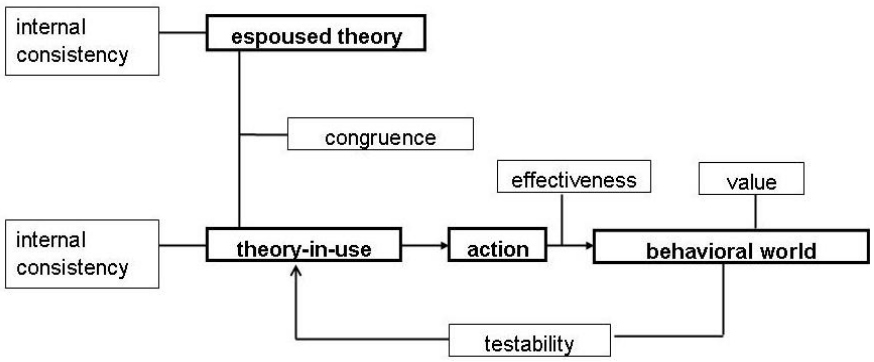
7. Reflection on Practice

There are many reasons for the discontent and the lack of confidence in professional knowledge (Argyris and Schon, 1974, Schon, 1983). Many people believe that professionals misappropriate specialized knowledge in their own and the elite's interest. This raises the question of the social responsibility of professionals. Many are sceptical about professional competence in practice. This research conforms to Schon's idea on bridging the gap between research and practice and the idea of Argyris et al. (1985) relating to action science of. From the model of Technical Rationality and Positivism, the separation of research and practice is reflected in the normative curriculum of professional schools. "Those who create

new theory were thought to be higher in status than those who apply it" (Schon, 1983: 37). It is important to focus on reflection from experienced practitioners, because when "a practice becomes more repetitive and routine, and as knowing-in-practice becomes increasingly tacit and spontaneous, the practitioner may miss important opportunities to think about what he [sic] is doing." (Schon, 1983: 61) In other words, the practitioner has 'over-learned' what he or she knows, and forgets to employ reflection-in-action in his or her practice. For Argyris and Schon (1974), there are three elements of reflective practice – knowing-in-action, reflection-in-action and reflection on reflection-in-action. This research is interested in the tension between knowing-in-action and reflection-in-action of experienced practitioners and aims to use the research as a reflection on the practitioners' reflection-in-action.

To reflect on practitioners' theories of action is to focus on the themes as described below (Argyris and Schon, 1974: 20-27).

Figure 3-1: Evaluating theories of action



Source: Argyris and Schon, 1974: 21

First, internal consistency means the absence of self-contradiction. On the contrary, 'internal inconsistency' refers to when efforts to achieve one governing variable would interfere or limit another. This concerns the consistency, contradiction and duplicity of an espoused-theory and the challenges in implementation of the theory-in-use in practice.

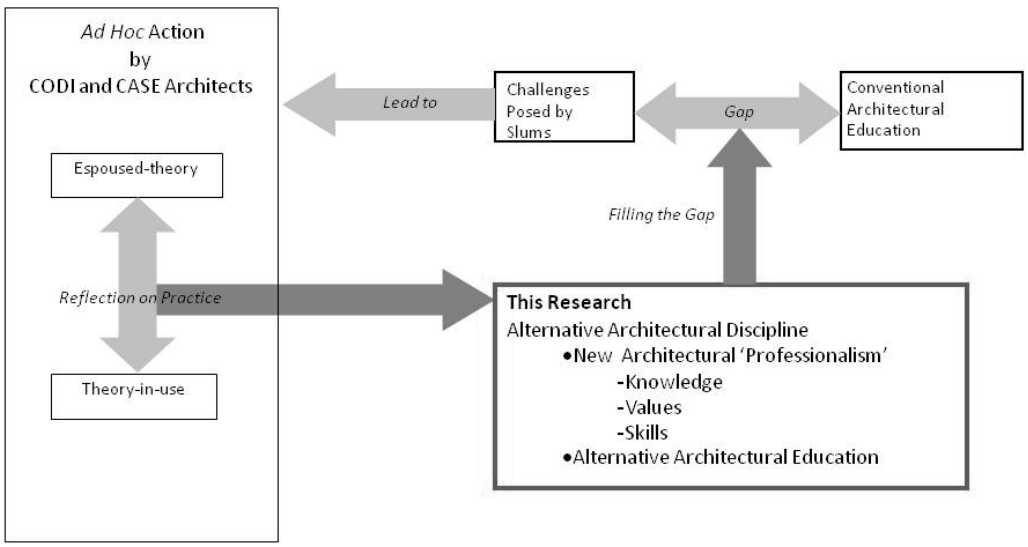
Second, congruence means the match between practitioners' espoused theory and theories-in-use. This concerns professional values of practitioners at personal and organizational levels. In other words, it means the integration of doing and believing – architects could have a strong belief in the idea of participation and empowerment but could hardly implement them in practice due to the different values of the organization in which they work, or their organization may seem to support the idea in theory but exploit the term in implementation. The research aims to explore these tensions. Additionally, it is important to look at congruence in the long term. That is why this research chose four housing projects with different end dates. This is discussed in the next Chapter.

Third, theories-in-use are effective when action according to the theory tends to achieve its governing variables. It depends on the governing variables, the appropriateness of the strategies and the accuracy and adequacy of the assumptions of the theory. This relates to the competence of the practitioners' knowledge and skills and this research use reflections from the architects' clients who live the consequence of architects' theory-in-use in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the architects' practice.

Fourth, focussing on testability of the action, a theory must be regarded as tentative, subject to error and likely to be disconfirmed. Therefore, this research is interested in exploring the professional values of the architects and the extent to which their theory is open to be tested in practice – to assess to what extent they employ double-loop learning in their practice.

Fifth, values concerning evaluation towards a theory one created. This research explores the architects' personal values towards their espoused theory and theory-in-use. In other words, this research is interested in taking note of the architects' reflection on their action.

Figure 3-2: Research conceptual framework



In conclusion, the urgent demand of the Millennium Development Goals Target 11 cannot be reached unless conventional architectural practice addresses challenges posed by slums in its architectural professionalism and education. It is important to emphasize that without waiting for a structural change in conventional architectural education to be established, the movement of 'community architects' whose work concerns poor urban communities and employs participatory design to different degrees has taken place in practice

in an *ad ho*c manner around the world, especially in Thailand where the latest governmental housing policies promoted and institutionalized the ideas of people-centred development, community participation and empowerment in urban poor housing policy around the country.

This research aims to shape the new architectural discipline which comprises a new architectural professionalism – comparing alternative values, knowledge and skills – and alternative architectural education from the *ad ho*c practice of architects who are working with poor urban communities (see Figure 3-2). The research is a reflection on knowing-in-action, reflection-on-action and reflection-in-action of the practitioners. Their theories of action are explored through an assessment of their internal consistency, congruence, effectiveness and testability of the action and their values.

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Chapter 4: Methodology Chapter

1. Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapters, this research is inspired from literature in the field of 'action science', 'theories of action' and reflective practice (Forester, 1999, Argyris and Schon, 1974, Argyris et al., 1985, Forester, 1989, Schon, 1983, Schon, 1987). However, the research itself cannot be considered as 'action research', because it lacks action experiments. It merely comprises observations and interviews which are just two of the four elements of inquiry in action science.[1] Not only does this research focus on documentation and an analysis of reflection on practice, but it also acts as a catalyst facilitating practitioners to step back from their busy everyday practice to talk and reflect.

If the new professionalism is to succeed, therefore, an important question to ask is how is professional reform facilitated towards those ends? The literature review introduced a few newly established examples of alternative architectural education, which aimed to produce architects who were more capable in their new roles and more responsive to the challenges posed by slums. Still, there are many obstacles to the introduction of architects from the new 'professionalism'. The first obstacle is the complexity of the concept of 'participation' and 'empowerment' itself. Second, existing normative architectural education tends to bring conformity to the present system, promoting the normative role of architects as authoritarian experts. So what kind of reforms in the professional architectural educational system is needed to facilitate the move towards new "professionalism"?

This research argues that there is a need to 'theorize' – to make the theories-in-use of the practitioners' practice explicit. The research values the knowledge that emerges from the ground of practice. At the same time, it is important to reflect on this practice-based knowledge by using the theoretical framework emerging from the literature review as an analytical tool. The chapter starts with hypothesis and research questions. It explains study populations, research methods, sampling and criteria, data analysis, ethical considerations and strengths and limitations.

2. Aim, Observation and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to explore how to bridge the gap between conventional architectural practice and education and the challenges posed by slums by means of a new architectural 'professionalism' by focused incremental enquiry. From the researcher's

[1] The other two elements are action experiments and participant-written cases (Argyris et al., 1985).

observation, there is a gap between the values, knowledge and skills of Thai architects and the challenges posed by slums in the cities of Thailand. The formal housing provision for the urban poor in Thailand is implemented by the NHA, which NHA architects are responsible for site planning and designing standardized residential units in a non-participatory manner. However, there are quantitative and qualitative gaps in the work of NHA architects as discussed in Chapter 5 from an observation on literature review in Thailand context and Chapter 7 from the findings of this research fieldwork. In parallel, the CODI and CASE proposed alternative solutions conducting participatory site planning and designing new houses with the poor urban communities. Therefore, the gap which the NHA fail to fill is being filled informally by a movement of 'community architects' – CODI and CASE architects who are embracing a 'new architectural professionalism' – and a largely *ad hoc* alternative architectural education in Thailand has emerged in support.

NHA, CODI and CASE as organizations have different values and policy concerning solving slum problems at scale. The difference influences their ways of practice and their architects' professionalism – the diverse roles of architects as providers, supporter and catalysts. There is resistance to the development of a new professionalism and alternative architectural education at scale. From the observation in literature review, in this 'new architectural professionalism' of CODI and CASE architects, there is a blurring of the boundary and understanding between the roles of the architect as provider, supporter and catalyst. This new professionalism cannot go to scale until the boundary between these three roles of the architect are defined and the resistance to the development of the new professionalism and alternative architectural education have been addressed, understood and challenged. This research aim to fill these gaps.

By making the theories-in-use of the practitioners explicit and inferring from their underlying model, the dilemmas of incongruity, inconsistency, effectiveness, testability of values can be signalled and explained (Argyris and Schon, 1974). This research explores different ways to evaluate the theories of action of architects designing for/with poor urban communities in the field. First, the internal consistency within the architect's espoused theories can be examined through an analysis of discourses related to participation and empowerment in the design process. The internal consistency within the architect's theories-in-use can be explored through listening to and decoding the challenges the architects encounter in practice. Second, to observe the congruence between the architect's espoused theories and theories-in-use is to compare what they say or believe and with what they do. Moreover, it is to explore the conflicts (if there are any) between architect's individual values and organizational values. Third, the effectiveness of the architect's action can be studied from their client's feedback on how the architect's knowledge and skills have impacted them. Fourth, the testability of the action can be explored through the architect's values towards

reflective practice and listening to the feedback from their clients. Fifth, it is important to explore the practitioner's values concerning what they think about their own practice.

The research question is

- In response to the theories of Freire's 'true education' (1972) and Schon's reflective practice (1983, 1987), how do the 'alternative architectural education' and the 'new architectural professionalism' – values, knowledge and skills – associated with the roles of the architect as provider, supporter and catalyst change as participation and empowerment is integrated into architectural responses to the provision of housing for the poor and architectural education? The sub-questions are:
    - What are the relationship between the values, knowledge and skills of architects involved in the provision of conventional state housing for the poor and the practice of 'community architects'?
    - What aspects of architectural education need to be changed in order to support the 'new professionalism' embodied in 'community architects'? What is the resistance to integrating these aspects of an alternative approach into mainstream architectural education?

There are two indicators used to explore the values, knowledge and skills of architects who design 'for' and 'with' the poor urban communities.

- Problem setting: what is a 'slum' for the interviewed architects? How an architect views a 'slum' reflects the values that underpin their knowledge. To set a task to work on or to define what should be done reflects what practitioners perceive to be 'problems' or 'opportunities'. This refers back to the idea of 'slums of hope' and 'slums of despair.' (Lloyd, 1979)
- Problem solving: how is a slum improved? This helps explore how an architect's approach to a problem reflects their knowledge and skills. Solving a 'problem' requires a set of theories of action, procedures, tools and techniques. It is important to study the architects' design-related and non-design-related knowledge and skills and its implications in practice.

3. Study Population

There are five groups of the study population - architects, clients of the studied architects, architectural educators, representatives of architectural professional associations and selected housing and alternative architectural education experts.

3.1 Architects

There are three organizations dealing with housing for the poor in Thailand – NHA, CODI and CASE[2], and the interviewed architects come from each of these organizations. The aim is to compare the differences and similarities of their professionalism – the practitioner's values, knowledge and skills in different organizational settings. The work of the NHA architects represents a 'designing for' approach. They have no contact with the clients[3] in the design process. The works of the CODI and the CASE architects represent a 'designing with' approach. Both CODI and CASE architects try to employ people-participatory and empowerment approaches in a community design process. What distinguishes the CODI and the CASE is their independence and flexibility as organizations. Although the CODI claims to be relatively autonomous from the government compared to the NHA, it is relatively more dependent on the government compared to the CASE. The CODI also has to deal with many other issues besides housing, such as, financial support and micro-loans for poor urban community cooperatives. While the CODI as an organization focuses on the idea of 'scaling up' to reach the demand of slum upgrading, the CASE is a small private group of architects who focus on the architectural design processes at a relatively small scale, aiming to catalyse the sense of community building through the architectural design process. The evaluation of NHA, CODI and CASE policy is discussed in the next Chapter.

3.2 Clients

When the research was conducted, there were two nation-wide low-cost housing schemes proposed by the previous government headed by Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra. The first one was the NHA's *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme. The second scheme was the CODI's *Baan Mankong* Programme. The two programmes were launched simultaneously by the Thai Government in 2003. The NHA aimed to reach 600,000 low-income households and the CODI aimed to reach 300,000 low-income households around Thailand within five years. The NHA architects working for *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme design and provide ready-to-occupy residential units with no interaction with their clients. The CODI and CASE architects working for *Baan Mankong* Programme focussed on community members' involvement and work with their clients in slum upgrading programmes. This research seeks to attain a reflection of the practice of the architects from their clients. The interviews with the clients of NHA architects aims to reflect on the outcomes of non-

[2] Please see Appendix 5 for the charts of organization structure of NHA and CODI and *Baan Mankong* Programme mechanism.
[3] While CODI and CASE architects' clients are members of a community cooperative who chose to participate in CODI and CASE projects including *Baan Mankong* Programme, NHA architects' clients are individuals who chose to purchase a residential unit of the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme.

participatory design while the interviews with the clients of CODI and CASE architects aims to reflect on the outcomes of participatory design.

3.3 Educators

There are 16 architectural schools around Thailand, including public and private universities. The researcher interviewed architectural educators from the Faculty of Architecture from Chulalongkorn University (CU) and Silpakorn University (SU). These two universities were chosen because they are the top two architecture schools based on entrance exam scores. The reasons and sampling criteria are explained in the subsequent sections.

3.4 Architectural Professional Associations

There are two major architectural professional associations in Thailand. The first one is the Architect Council of Thailand (ACT), the official representative of Thai architects founded in 2000. It is responsible for supporting architectural academia and architectural practice, issuing architectural licenses, endorsing architectural certificates and degrees and issuing professional regulations. The second one is the Association of Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage (ASA), founded in 1934. It is responsible for the networking of professionals and supporting members on professional issues – academic and practice. Before the ACT was established, the ASA was responsible for the work of what ACT does today. With respect to these associations, the research aims, again, to explore aspects of architectural education that need to be changed in order to support the 'new professionalism' embodied in community architects and to explore resistance to integrating these aspects of an alternative approach into mainstream architectural education.

3.5 Selected Housing and Alternative Architectural Education Experts

Selected housing and alternative architectural education experts are those who can give insights on the challenges and opportunities of the new professionalism and alternative architectural education. First, there were selected experts from the CODI, such as the CODI Director (Key01-CODIdirector), the *Baan Mankong Programme* consultant (KEY02-CODIconsultant) who is an architectural lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture, *Khon Kaen* University in the North-eastern region of Thailand, a famous mainstream architect (Key03-SuanPlooArch) who was invited to finalize the final design of the *Baan Mankong: Suan Phlu*

Pattana Community (CODIPJ02) and some social organizers who were working closely with the CODI architects (Key04-organizer1 and Key05-organizer2).

Second, there is an NHA senior researcher (Key06-NHAresearcher) who has been working at the NHA for more than 30 years and has a solid overview of NHA policies. Many community architects and NHA architects recommended the researcher to interview him, because he had critical views on the NHA policies over three decades.

Third, there were three staff from the *Baan Eua Arthorn: Rangsit Klong 3 Community* (NHAPJ). The first is the NHA social organizer (Key07-NHAPJorganizer) who was responsible for the post-occupancy social work of the project. The second and the third (Key08-NHAPJstaff1 and Key09-NHAPJstaff2) were local clients who were employed to work as local staff for the C.D.S Service which is the private company that sub-contracted social work from the NHA.

Fourth, there were a few architectural schools which tried to integrate the challenge posed by slums or the community development agenda into their courses. The researcher interviewed three lecturers from the Faculty of Architecture Urban Design and Creative Arts, Mahasarakham University[4] (MSU) in the North-eastern region of Thailand (KEY12-MSUdean, KEY13-MSUlecturer1, and KEY14-MSUlecturer2). While the faculty were divided into four departments – Architecture, Urban Design, Interior, and Creative Arts – the lecturers who tried to integrate the challenge of slums or community development agenda in their classes or studios were all from the Urban Design Department. Furthermore, the researcher interviewed two lecturers from the Faculty of Architecture, Sripatum University (SPU) in Bangkok (Key15-SPUlecturer1 and Key16-SPUlecturer2), who have tried to integrate the challenge of slums or the community development agenda in their classes or studios. Sripatum is a private university. Finally, as mentioned, there was a newly launched Master's in Architecture Course on Community and Environmental Architecture at the Arsom Silp Institution of the Arts and Development, a not-for-profit organization. The researcher interviewed the co-founder of the programme (Key17-Arsomsilp).

For the first three groups, this research sought to understand the practice of the NHA, CODI and CASE architects – to reflect on the practitioner's values, knowledge and skills – from different aspects and disciplines. For the fourth group, the aim was to study aspects of architectural education that need to be changed in order to support the 'new professionalism' and to explore resistance to integrating these aspects of an alternative approach into mainstream architectural education.

[4] Twelve out of twenty-two CODI architects who graduated from Mahasarakham University.

4. Research Methods

The qualitative nature of the research strategy values social interaction, points of view of the study population, contextual understanding, dynamic natural settings, personal experiences and interpretations, rather than a quantification, standardization and generalization of the findings. It seeks to understand the social reality in a complex world concerning subjectivity and gaining access to personal experiences. The epistemological focus is on interpretation – understanding through an examination of the interpretation of the world by the study populations. The ontological position is constructionism, which not only believes that social phenomena are produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2004). Furthermore, "knowledge in the service of action cannot rest solely on the analysis of social statistics." (Argyris et al., 1985: 20) Thus, the research is qualitative and inductive, with an attempt to generate a theory from the findings rather than test a theory from the findings. It focuses on interpretation and judgement of studied practitioners. By stating that, it is important to note that the literature review has shaped a theoretical framework to analyse the findings from the fieldwork. A cross-sectional research design is employed to compare the different professionalism of different practitioners and to compare the views of practitioners and educators towards the 'new professionalism.' There were various research methods used for triangulation. Each method was applied on a different study population for a different purpose.

As stated in the action science literature, to talk is "a window on practical reasoning." (Argyris et al., 1985: 59) The interview method was employed with every group of the study population. However, as Argyris et al. stated, "we need not assume that self-reports are accurate; they may be tested for interpretive consistency with other data." This is why other research methods are also employed as a means for triangulation and to recheck and reflect on what the practitioners talked about. At the same time, due to the issue of the reliability of the self-reports collected from the practitioners, the analysis of the findings attempts to distinguish between espoused theories and theories-in-use. In other words, it attempts to analyse and distinguish what they claim from what they actually do in practice. For example, the findings concerning the effectiveness of the participatory (and non-participatory) design process from the interviews with the architects were analyzed with the reflections from their clients. At the same time, the expressions of architects' values towards slums are decoded using two different methods – a semi-structured interview and a photo analysis. They are discussed below.

4.1 Semi-structured Face-to-face Interviews

The semi-structured interviews help to explore the field inductively. The face-to-face interviews help the researcher gain a better understanding of what the interviewees said by observing their face and body language to get a more accurate interpretation. This technique is used with all study populations. Although the semi-structured format of the interview consumes a lot of time, it is necessary for inductive research like this, where the researcher does not want to impose her ideas on the interviewees. The research is more about exploring personal views, opinions and experiences of the interviewees than trying to get 'answers' to a specific question in a quantitative manner. The data for analysing the findings of the research come mainly from the interviews. It is important to note that, as Forester (1999) mentioned in his book, the Deliberative Practitioner, it is certainly not just about words. Words must be interpreted in order to lead to additional 'clues'.

4.2 Researcher as Observer-as-participant on Live Projects

As Argyris and Schon (1974) noted, theories-in-use cannot be learned merely by asking, but by observing the practitioners' behavior in action on their live projects. This method was employed with the CODI and CASE architects. The aim was to get insight on what was happening in the field while the architects were working. The researcher spent days with a few members of the community architect group while they were working in the field in an attempt to better understand the role of the community architects. However, the researcher was conscious not to engage or participate 'too much'. There were a few times when the researcher was a complete observer, and many times behaved as an observer-as-participant (Gold, 1958 as cited in Bryman, 2004) in the field. The reason for choosing not to be a complete participant or a participant-as-observer was to avoid influencing the nature of the observation. When the researcher conducted the role as observer-as-participant it meant playing the role as an assistant for the studied CODI and CASE architects helping them to organize community meetings. It is important to emphasize that the researcher only acted and behaved as the CODI and CASE architects suggested. The aim was to role play the community architects' everyday practice in order to better understand them.

4.3 Photo Analysis

"Content analysis is an approach to the analysis of documents and texts (which may be printed or visual) that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner" (Bryman, 2004:181). "Photographs could be the focus

of content analysis… [and] may be used as prompts to entice people to talk about what is represented in them" (ibid:384). This approach of using photographs in interviews is a technique of photo-elicitation (ibid). This method was employed with the study populations of the architect group (NHA, CODI and CASE) and the educator group (CU and SU). Due to time limitations and the fact that there were many issues to broach with the architects, the method was employed with 50% of the studied architect group. The 50% was equally chosen from different departments. However, it was employed 100% with the educator group. The aim of the photo analysis was to explore the values and knowledge of the study population. It attempted to understand what the study population thought of as 'problems' or 'opportunities' – in other words, the problem setting – what mattered, what was more valued and less valued, how they perceived their roles with respect to the subjects and how much they knew about what they saw. The method was conducted to explore how people saw and interpreted the world based on their professionalism and background. The photo analysis was added to the interview because some people were trained and educated to answer a certain set of questions by heart; when it came to a set of random images in the photo analysis, people were less familiar with this technique and tended to respond to them more spontaneously.

There were four categories of photos. (Please see Appendix 1 for details.) The aim was to observe their reactions and responses after seeing the images in each category.

- First, there were 16 images of the livelihoods of the urban poor in the urban areas of Thailand. It was a mix of photos of a street cleaner, a shoe-repairer, construction workers, street hawkers and garbage collectors. The images were presented to see whether the architects perceived the existence of the urban poor's informal livelihoods in a city as a positive or negative phenomenon.
- Second, there were seven images of slums and the city, that is, slums and informal communities located in the urban areas of Bangkok to see whether the architects perceived the existence of slums in a city with positive or negative feelings. It was also meant to draw out what they thought their role was, in reaction to the images they saw.
- Third, in an attempt to focus on a smaller scale, there were 20 images of houses of the Thai urban poor, focusing on informal materials used for construction. It is an equal mix of photos of what the researcher thought was 'positive' and 'negative'. In other words, some images showed the positive side of the creative use of informal materials used in construction in informal settlements. At the same time, some images showed the negative side of the informal settlements with regard to the lack of hygiene, space used and house maintenance. Some images were considered neutral by the researcher in an attempt to elicit a more open-ended interpretation from the interviewees. This set of photos aimed to

explore the way the architects 'saw' (or did not see) the local capacity and creativity of the urban poor.

- Fourth, there were 22 images of houses of the urban poor which focused on the space-use – private, semi-private, semi-public and public space. Similar to the previous category, it was a mix of what the researcher considered to be positive, neutral and negative with the same aim.

The images in the four mentioned categories were shown sequentially. In each category, the photos were shown to the interviewees in a non-sequential manner. All images within the same category were shown at the same time on a table. The interviewees could randomly choose the images they wanted to respond to. Their choices were also observed and analyzed.

5. Sampling and Criteria of Choices of Interviewees

All interviews were all conducted by the researcher. The fieldwork was completed in five months, during January – May 2007. In total, there were 108 interviewees. The number of interviewees sampled in each study population is shown in Table 4-1 below.

Table 4-1: Sampling interviewees in each study population

Study population		Numbers	
		Total	Interviewed
1. Architects Total interviewees: 31	NHA	45	13[5]
	CODI	18	11
	CASE	9	7
2. Clients Total interviewees: 46	NHAPJ	477	14
	CODIPJ1	49	6
	CODIPJ2	247	16
	CASEPJ	66	10
3. Educators Total interviewees: 14	CU	N/A	7
	SU	N/A	7
4. Architectural professional associations Total interviewees: 2	ASA	N/A	1
	ACT	N/A	1
5. Selected housing and alternative architectural education experts Total interviewees: 15	CODI informants	N/A	5
	NHA senior researcher	N/A	1
	NHA social workers	N/A	3
	MSU	N/A	3
	SPU	N/A	2
	Arsomsilp	N/A	1
Total		**108**	

[5] One engineer was interviewed and included in the total number

Two sampling methods were employed with the different study populations in this research.

- Snowball sampling
- Quota sampling

Table 4-2 below explains which sampling method was employed with which study population.

Table 4-2: Study population, research methods and sampling methods

Study population	Research methods	Sampling methods
1. Architects 1.1 NHA 1.2 CODI 1.3 CASE	1. Semi-structured face-to-face interview 2. Photo analysis 3. Researcher as observer-as-participant on live projects (merely with the CODI and CASE architects)	1. Snowball sampling 2. Quota sampling
2. Clients	1. Semi-structured face-to-face interview	1. Quota sampling
3. Educators	1. Semi-structured face-to-face interview 2. Photo analysis	1. Snowball sampling 2. Quota sampling
4. Architectural Prof. Assoc.	1. Semi-structured face-to-face interview	1. Quota sampling
5. selected housing and alternative architectural education experts	1. Semi-structured face-to-face interview	1. Snowball sampling

The snowball sampling method was used with the architects, educators and selected housing and alternative architectural education experts. A snowball sample is a method in which "the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others" (Bryman, 2004: 100). The researcher did not have a fixed list of all the interviewees or the housing projects before conducting the fieldwork. The list grew and changed spontaneously while the researcher was conducting the fieldwork. For example, the researcher asked the interviewed architects to suggest housing projects, architects, educators and selected housing and alternative architectural education experts who the researcher should talk to. In the end, the informal network of community architects was not too big and the researcher heard similar names of people and projects from different members of the study population. Although a disadvantage of the method is that it is unlikely to represent the population, Bryman (2004) argues that the method fits qualitative research, where "the orientation to sampling is more likely to be guided by a preference for *theoretical sampling* than with the kind of statistical sampling" (Bryman, 2004: 102 originally emphasized).

On the other hand, a 'quota sample' is a sample that aims

"...to produce a sample that reflects a population in terms of the relative proportions of people in different categories, such as gender, ethnicity, age groups, socio-economic groups, and region of residence, and in combination of these categories. However, unlike a stratified sample, the sampling of individuals is not carried out randomly, since the final selection of people is left to the interviewer." (Bryman, 2004: 102)

Quota sampling was employed with the architects, clients, educators and architectural professional associations. The researcher chose to interview the president of each association, because of their position and their insights on architectural professionalism. The researcher interviewed the architects from each working unit and each organization in the same manner to avoid bias. For interviews with the clients of NHA, CODI and CASE architects, the researcher interviewed clients who lived in different areas in a community and had different positions and status in a community. For the university interviews, the researcher interviewed educators from different departments. The interviewees were a mix of different genders and ages.

Table 4-3 below lists the criteria used to select members of each study population.

Table 4-3: Selection criteria

Architects	• NHA: Architects who worked on the architectural design process in the *Baan Eua Arthorn Programme* • CODI and CASE: Architects who worked on the architectural design process in urban poor housing programmes, including the *Baan Mankong Programme*. • NHA: Architects who had worked at the NHA for more than 5 years. • CODI and CASE: Architects who have worked as a 'community architect' with urban poor communities for more than a year. • Architects trained at an architectural school.
Clients	• Actual owners and current occupants in the selected projects. Owners who sub-letted to other tenants are excluded.
Educators	• An architectural educator at the CU or SU, undergraduate level or postgraduate level. • Teaching architectural relevant subjects, including architectural design and low-income housing.
Architectural Professional Association	• The president of the associations
Selected Housing and Alternative Architectural Education Experts	• Experts who have a specialization, experience and knowledge on participation, community development and Thailand low-cost housing policies, architectural profession and alternative architectural education.

5.1 Architects

The criteria was to interview architects who had been working with the organization 'long enough'; that is, five years for the NHA architects and a year for the CODI and CASE architects. One year of practice may seem to be little in the latter group, but it is important to note that 'community architects' are a relatively new type of architect, with many of them just starting to work in this manner for a year. Some architects, such as a senior CODI architect, felt that after a year, these architects should be able to gain enough experience to reflect on their practice.

The research aimed to understand the role of architects in the architectural design process in urban poor housing programmes, including the *Baan Eua Arthorn Programme* and the *Baan Mankong Programme*. Besides receiving a formal education from architectural schools, there are other routes to becoming an architect, such as by studying at technical schools. However, because the research focuses specifically on formal architectural education, the researcher decided to interview architects who had been trained in an architectural school.

It is important to note that many community architects working at the CODI or CASE quit after a few years of practicing. For example, some architects quit the CODI to work for CASE. CODI and CASE architects are not much different *per se*. What makes their performance different is the organizational policies and approach, which is discussed in the chapters on findings.

There were 56 people who graduated as architects working at the NHA in different departments – the Policy and Planning Department, the Department of Housing Development Studies, the Special Project Department and the four Operational Function Units. However, only those working in the four Operational Function Units were practicing as architects. The rest were working as researchers or served on the executive board as policy planners. The research focuses on the four Operational Function Units which were responsible for the *Baan Eua Arthorn Programme* in the different regions of Thailand. The four units had 45 working architects. All the architects were working at the NHA main office in Bangkok, where all the interviews were conducted by the researcher. The researcher employed the snowball sampling method asking NHA architects to suggest others for the interviews. At the same time, concerning quota sampling method, the researcher interviewed 13 persons according to the criteria stated above – 2 architects from Unit 1, 4 architects from Unit 2, 2 architects and 1 engineer from Unit 3 and 4 architects from Unit 4. There were a mix of different genders and ages of the interviewees. (Please see Appendix 2 for the details of the interviewees.) The engineer from unit 3, who graduated from an engineering school, was the only person who

did not graduate from an architectural school. The researcher chose to interview him because he was a major actor in the *Baan Eua Arthorn: Rangsit Klong 3 Community* (NHAPJ) project which was chosen for the study of this research. The researcher stopped interviewing new persons when the information gained was repeated (This was employed in every study population). The average time of the 13 interviews was 62 minutes.

There were 18 architects working at the CODI. Everyone was working on the *Baan Mankong Programme* projects across Thailand. The working team was divided into six units according to the different regions in Thailand. The researcher interviewed 11 architects. Most of them were based in the field according to their regional unit across Thailand and due to time and budget constraints, it was not possible to travel to every region of Thailand to interview the architects. Although they worked in the field across Thailand, these architects usually had a meeting at the main office in Bangkok every month. The researcher interviewed some of the architects who worked outside Bangkok during these monthly meetings.

The researcher employed the snowball sampling method to ask CODI architects to suggest others for the interviews. At the same time, concerning quota sampling method, in total, the researcher interviewed four architects from the main office who were working flexibly in many regions of Thailand, including the most senior architect (coding CODI01), three architects from the Bangkok Metropolitan Unit, one architect from the Central Regional Unit, one architect from the Southern Regional Unit and two architects from the Northern Regional Unit. All interviews were conducted by the researcher at the CODI main office in Bangkok. There was a mix of different genders and ages of the interviewees (Please see Appendix 2 for the details of the interviewees). The average time of the 11 interviews was 85 minutes.

For the CASE architects, there were nine architects currently working on slum upgrading projects, including the *Baan Mankong Programme* across Thailand. They did not have particular units or departments. Each project was handed over project by project depending on different conditions. The architects normally worked in the area they originally came from, but this was not a fixed rule. Concerning snowball sampling and quota sampling methods, the researcher interviewed seven CASE architects – six from the current working staff including the CASE founder (CASE03), and a former CASE member who quit the CASE four years ago and is currently working as a commercial architect. The researcher chose to interview the latter CASE architect (CASE07) because he was a major actor in the *Arkarn Songkhroa Community* (CASEPJ) project which was chosen for the study of this research. Additionally, it was important to explore his reasons for quitting his job as a community architect. He was also referred to by many CASE staff as a very skillful community architect. As with the CODI architect, most of the currently employed CASE architects were working in

the field across Thailand, but they normally came back to Bangkok for a monthly meeting and to work on other projects in Bangkok. All interviews were conducted at the CASE main office in Bangkok by the researcher. There was a mix of different genders and ages of the interviewees (Please see Appendix 2 for the details of the interviewees.) The average time of the seven interviews was 132 minutes.

Table 4-4: Numbers of interviewed architects

Architects		**Numbers**	
		Total	**Interviewed**
NHA Operation Function Units	Unit 1	10	2
	Unit 2	12	4
	Unit 3	11	3[6]
	Unit 4	12	4
Total		45	13
CODI	Main Office	4	4
	Bangkok Metropolitan Unit	3	3
	Central Region Unit	1	1
	Southern Region	1	1
	Northern Region Unit.	3	2
	Northeastern Region Unit	6	0
Total		18	11
CASE		9	7
Total		72	31

5.2 Clients

As mentioned, it is important to look at the effectiveness of the practitioner's action in the long run. Three types of projects were chosen from the CODI and the CASE – (1) a project that was nearly completed; (2) a project that had been completed within two years; and (3) a project that was completed five years ago. It was also important to see how a community bonded and how the people-organization relationship developed as the community building process changed over time.

- For a nearly completed project, the research explores the client's experiences and reflections toward a participatory process which had just been implemented.
- For a project completed within two years, the research explores the post-occupancy behaviour and the client's experiences toward their new home and community building. In other words, after all the excitement of having a new house had passed, how was it exactly to live in the house and the community?

[6] An engineer (code: NHA13) was interviewed and included in the total number from the unit 3 (code: NHA13).

- For a project completed five years ago, the research explores the long term post-occupancy behaviour and the client's experiences of their new home and community. In other words, after the architects and the other outsiders left, how did a community manage things by themselves in the long-term? How far did the participatory process strengthen community bonds? The research aims to observe the effectiveness of the practitioners' actions in the long run.

Focussing on the criteria of choice of housing projects, the criteria were as follows.

- The project had to be an urban poor housing project implemented by the architects of the NHA, CODI, or CASE, who were amongst the study population of the research.
- The project had to be located in an urban area in the central region of Thailand where people shared a certain lifestyle, livelihood and beliefs.
- The project had to include the construction of new infrastructure, new shared facilities and new houses. In other words, it had to be not merely a minor improvement in infrastructure in a community and it had to have a design element – to explore the participatory design process from the designing phase to the building phase. Moreover because most of the projects from the NHA provided a whole new infrastructure, facilities and houses, it was important to choose a project from the CODI and the CASE which had similar characteristics in order to have comparable analysis. For the criteria within the upgrading projects of the CODI and the CASE, the project had to be an *in situ* reconstruction project or land sharing, so that the research could compare the projects, wherein the satisfaction of the communities was focussed on the participatory process, not on the different types of upgrading.
- The project had to provide a certain formal long-term form of land tenure – to own or to lease long-term. This was because most of the projects from the NHA provided a formal long-term form of land tenure. It was important to choose a project from the CODI and the CASE which had similar characteristics in order to have comparable analysis, again, wherein the satisfaction of the communities was focussed on the participatory (or non-participatory) process, not on the different types of achieved land tenures.
- The project had to provide a low-rise housing design solution at the maximum height of four storeys because most of the projects implemented by the CODI and the CASE provided low-rise housing design solutions at the maximum height of four storeys. It was important to choose a project from the NHA which had similar characteristics in order to have comparable analysis, wherein the satisfaction of the communities was focussed on the participatory (or non-participatory) process, not on the different building types.

- In line with the snowball sampling for the key study population (the architects and the selected housing and alternative architectural education experts) the project had to be recommended as 'interesting' by the architects interviewed. It is important to emphasize that 'interesting' did not mean 'successful'. It meant cases in which there were some lessons to be learned and the issues of participatory process (or the lack of it) were revealed in a different way.

In total, there are four housing projects chosen for the study of this research.

- NHA: *Baan Eua Arthorn Rangsit Klong 3 Community* (NHAPJ)
- CODI finished within two years: *Baan Mankong Klong Lumnoon Community* (CODIPJ01)
- CODI Under construction: *Baan Mankong Suan Phlu Pattana Community* (CODIPJ02)
- CASE finished five years ago: *Arkarn Songkhroa Community* (CASEPJ)

Figure 4-1: *Baan Eua Arthorn Rangsit Klong 3 Community* (NHAPJ)

Figure 4-2: *Baan Mankong Klong Lumnoon Community* (CODIPJ01)

Figure 4-3: *Baan Mankong Suan Phlu Pattana Community* (CODIPJ02)

Figure 4-4: *Arkarn Songkhroa Community* (CASEPJ)

Table 4-5: Comparison of the four chosen projects from NHA, CODI and CASE architects

	NHAPJ	CODIPJ01	CODIPJ02	CASEPJ
Completion period	Within 5 years	Within 2 years	Ongoing	Within 5 years
Numbers of units	477	49	264	66
Type	-New houses and location -Detached houses	-Land sharing -Detached houses	-*In situ* reconstruction after a fire -Row-houses and 4-storey apartment	-*in situ* reconstruction -Row-houses
House areas	50 m^2 on 6x13 m. land size	8x8 m. land size	3.5x7 m. and 5x7 m. land sizes	60 m^2 on 3x10 m. land size
Land tenure	Individual ownership	Owned by the community cooperative	-30 –years renewable lease from Treasury Department to the community cooperative -120-140 Baht / month / unit (depending on unit size)	-30–year renewable lease from Treasury Department to the community cooperative -1 Baht / 4 m^2 / year
Loans	N/A	-Land: 3 million Baht -House: 7.91 million Baht	-House: 46.6 million Baht	-House: 7.2 million Baht (from CODI)
Subsidy	50,000 Baht / unit	-Infrastructure: 3.48 million Baht -Community centre : 150,000 Baht	-Infrastructure: 14.9 million Baht -temporary house: 28,000 Baht / unit for families who were not affected by the fire but joined the programme	-Infrastructure: 2.7 million Baht (from NHA)

5.2.1 The NHA Clients: *Baan Eua Arthorn: Rangsit Klong 3* Community, Prathum Thani (NHAPJ01)

There were 477 households in the *Baan Eua Arthorn: Rangsit Klong 3 Community* (NHAPJ), divided into 23 *cul-de-sac* '*soi*' (meaning, 'small street' in Thai.) (Please see Appendix 3 for the community map.) Concerning the quota sampling method, the researcher chose interviewees from different *sois* to ensure a fair distribution across the project. The reason for choosing to interview owners of the house and not the tenants who leased from the legal owners was because the latter would not be able to reflect on the project from the beginning of the process. Additionally, the tenants who leased the housed normally hid themselves from outsiders because they knew that it was illegal to sub-let units.

There were two categories of interviewees: cooperative members and non-cooperative members. There were seven interviewees from each group. Within the group of cooperative members, there were three interviewees who were part of the cooperative committee, including the community leader (NHAPJ07), while the other four were ordinary

cooperative members. In total, the researcher interviewed 14 clients from different *soi*. There was a mix of different genders and ages of the interviewees (please see Appendix 2 for the details of the interviewees). The average time of the 14 interviews was 62 minutes.

The project was the first detached house project of the *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme and was the most popular among other pioneer projects of the programme according the research interviews. More than 200,000 people registered for the pre-sale of this project. There remained more than one thousand people waiting for the project when the research was conducted. The project is located in an urban area in *Pathum Thani* province which is in the central region of Thailand, north of Bangkok. The area of the land comprises 41.68 *rai*.[7]

The NHA designed and built the houses and basic infrastructure according to NHA standards. The NHA proposed to have communal facilities such as a community centre, a community convenient store, a community market space, sport grounds and a playground. The design solution was low-rise standardized detached two-storey houses. The housing area is approximately 50 square metres on a plot size of 6x13 m.

The residents pay the rent-to-own scheme in installments. Once the payment is completed, the land and the house belong to the residents. There were two construction phases. The first phase was finished in 2003. The second phase was finished in 2004. The house has two floors with approximately 51.80 square metres of functional space. The projected population was five members per family. That is 2,385 residents in total with 11.44 plots per *rai* or 57.22 persons per *rai*. However, according to the research interviews, only 390 units are currently occupied. The rest are legally owned by persons but left empty. There are 36 house owners who cannot continue to pay rent and whose property was seized by the NHA. The livelihoods of the clients are varied, such as cheap labour, garbage collection, small enterprise and low-paid government work.

The NHA social workers helped the community set up a cooperative. It has 190 members and its income comes from the garbage collecting fee, cooperative shares and interests from loans. A private company named C.D.S. Service was hired by the NHA to manage community services and maintenance. However, their main task was to collect the monthly rent-to-own installments from the residents. The company hired local residents to work for them. The research interviews show that this arrangement had its pros and cons. The advantage was the practicality of having the locals work for the company. It also generated income. One of the disadvantages was that the officers who were responsible for collecting money from the residents were socially alienated from the other community members because their jobs created conflict. After five years from the date which the project

[7] 1 *rai* equals 1,600 square metres

was finished, the NHA was expected to handover their financial subsidy and responsibilities to the community cooperative to manage community welfare and services by themselves, with additional support from local authorities. Finally, there were community rules and regulations set by the NHA regarding pets, garbage collection, fire and safety, public spaces, noise pollution, prohibition for sub-letting, housing extension and housing payments. The project is mentioned as 'interesting' because it is the first detached houses pilot project of the *Baan Eua Arthorn Programme*.

5.2.2 The CODI and CASE Clients

For the *Baan Mankong: Klong Lumnoon Community* (CODIPJ01), there were 49 households. (Please see Appendix 3 for the community map.) The reason for choosing to interview the house owners and not the tenants who leased the units from the legal owners, again, was similar to the situation with the NHA clients. In line with the NHA clients, concerning quota sampling method, the researcher chose the interviewees from different areas to ensure a fair distribution across the project with all three chosen CODI and CASE housing projects.

In total, the researcher interviewed six clients from different areas. Due to *Baan Mankong Programme* regulations, every household had to be a member of the cooperative. There were two categories of interviewees. The first was the cooperative/community committee, including the community leader (CODIPJ105), and the other was the ordinary cooperative/community members. There were three interviewees from each group. There was a mix of different genders and ages of the interviewees. (Please see Appendix 2 for the details of the interviewees.) The average time of the six interviews was 98 minutes.

For the *Baan Mankong: Suan Phlu Pattana Community* (CODIPJ02), there were 247 households. In total, the researcher interviewed 16 clients from different areas. As mentioned, there were four house types – the two-storey row house (82 units), the two and a half storey row house (102 units), the three storey row house (13 units), and condominium rooms for selected tenants and relatives (50 units). Some parts of the project remained under construction and only approximately 60% of the community members have moved back to live in the community. Due to time constraints, the researcher could only interview clients who returned. It was not possible to interview those who were currently living outside of the community. The researcher interviewed 5 clients from the two-storey row house type; 10 clients from the two and a half storey row house type; and 1 client from the three storey row house type. The condominium rooms for the selected tenants and the relatives were under

construction. Due to the limitation of time, it was not possible to interview the clients of the condominium type as none of them had moved in to the community yet.

Similar to CODIPJ01 and CODIPJ03, there were two categories of interviewees. The first was the cooperative committee, including the community leader (CODIPJ201) and the other was the ordinary cooperative members. There were eight interviewees from each group. There were a mix of different genders and ages of the interviewees (Please see Appendix 2 for the details of the interviewees). The average time of the 16 interviews was 90 minutes.

For the *Arkarn Songkhroa Community* (CASEPJ), there were 66 households. In total, the researcher interviewed 10 clients from different areas. Similar to CODIPJ01 and CODIPJ02, there were two categories of interviewees. The first included the high-level cooperative/community committee members, including the community leader (CASEPJ03), and the second the ordinary cooperative/community members. There were five interviewees from each group. There were a mix of different genders and ages of the interviewees (Please see Appendix 2 for the details of the interviewees). The average time of the 10 interviews was 98 minutes.

In relation to the *Baan Mankong: Klong Lumnoon Community* (CODIPJ01) located in Bangkok, this project was implemented by the CODI architects. It was selected to be 1 of the 10 pilot projects of the *Baan Mankong Programme* in 2003. It is a project that has been completed for two years when this research was conducted. The first new constructed house was built in 2004. *Klong Lumnoon Community* was located on private land in an urban area in *Khan Na Yao* district in the outskirts of Bangkok in the north-eastern part. With reference to the CODI (2008) and interviews from the fieldwork of this research, *Klong Lumnoon* community emerged more than 20 years ago and it was located far from everything. The people occupied the empty land in 1983 with the assumption that it belonged to the government. The community started to grow over time, from a few households to almost 100 households. Most of the locals came from the north-eastern and the northern parts of Thailand. Their livelihoods were varied such as cheap labour, garbage collection, small enterprise and low-paid government work. By 1997 because of urban gentrification, the land owner tried to evict the residents. Some people accepted cash compensation. Some people resisted and continued to stay on the land. Later while the evictions threats continued, conflict arose between the community members who wanted to buy a bigger piece of land and those who preferred a smaller piece from the land owner. At the end, 49 families who had no other place to move to agreed to negotiate to buy a small piece of land and decided to stay on site, starting the negotiation process with the land owner. In 2000, the eviction process took place again with much resistance from the community members. The residents got

support from the Canal Community Network and started to organize themselves and formed a saving and credit group. It is important to note that before the threats of eviction, community members did not know each other well. The threats actually resulted in people staying and working together.

Eventually, the land owner decided to sell a small portion of land to the community members, in exchange for gaining the rest of the land back. Because the District Authority officer acted as a mediator, the community managed to buy the land from the land owner at merely 750 Baht per square metre which was much lower than the market price. After receiving secure tenure, the community members started to build a walkway together with the CODI infrastructure subsidy. The activity was claimed as a successful means to gather everyone together and to introduce some positive activity for troubled teenagers. Additionally, the community took a loan from the CODI at 1% interest rate after registering as a cooperative. The cooperative lent money to individual families at 3% interest rate using the 2% margin for other community activities and administration.

The community owned the land as a group, not as individuals. Therefore, they could not sell or sub-let their plot without consensus from the community as a whole. The community members worked with the CODI architects to design a layout for all 49 houses and to develop affordable house models. With respect to community regulations, on a plot of approximately 8x8 metres they agreed to position the house 1.5 metres from the front and 0.5 metres from the back and the sides. Four plots were kept for a community centre which the architects designed with the community members. The centre was built by the people and comprised a day-care centre, a community kitchen and an office for the community cooperative. The new infrastructure was fully subsidized by the CODI. The design solution which emerged from community meetings was low-rise with mixed housing types – detached houses, attached houses, one-storey houses and two-storey houses. However, it is important to note that although the participatory design process took place and seemed to go smoothly, the people did not build the house as agreed with the architects. Each house was built differently. Some shared the construction labour mostly with their relatives and friends and others. Some built the houses by themselves. The project was mentioned as ‘interesting’ because it was seen by the CODI and the CASE architects as a ‘lesson-learned’ for other projects under the *Baan Mankong Programmes.* Because the clients did not build their house in the same lay-out as agreed with the CODI architect, the community plan was, to a certain extent, unorganized and crowded. There were also many nonperforming loan[8] problems within the project. The bond between the community members was claimed as weakened at a certain level.

[8] Nonperforming loans are loans that are in default or close to being in default.

In relation to the *Baan Mankong: Suan Phlu Pattana* Community (CODIPJ02) located in Bangkok, this project was implemented by the CODI architects and was nearly finished when this research was conducted. Around 60% of the community members had started to move in. With reference to the CODI (2008), this community was located in the Bangkok financial and entertainment district. It was one of Bangkok's largest slums. The community members were taxi drivers, construction workers, vendors, small business people and garbage collectors. On April 2004, a fire almost completely destroyed the community, leaving 1,200 families (approximately 5,500 people) homeless. After some meetings amongst the District Authority, the Bangkok Metropolitan Authority (BMA), the Treasury Department, local and international NGOs, the Bangkok Community Network, the CODI, the NHA and representatives from the *Suan Phlu* community, the community members decided to divide into two groups. Those who wanted ready-to-occupy flats in 5-storey blocks would join the NHA's *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme and those who wanted to plan and build their new houses by themselves with support from the CODI would join *Baan Mankong* programme. After many complex negotiations, 60% of land was allotted to the NHA's *Baan Eua Arthorn* project (558 units) and 40% to the CODI's *Baan Mankong* project (264 units). Before the fire, there were at least 1,200 families and approximately 400 families renting. From the research interviews with the CODI architects and a community leader, because there were many renters who worked and fought constantly with the other house owners, at the end the people decided to spare a small portion of land to build a 5-storey block for the renters.

When the fire took place, not so many community members knew of the *Baan Mankong* programme. Although the CODI staff brought the community members to see many *Baan Mankong* pilot projects, they were not fully confident that the project would be completed. Approximately 100 families who initially wanted to join the *Baan Mankong* programme left during the time of negotiating the land and developing the plans. With reference to the CODI (2008) and some interviews from the research fieldwork many community members chose the NHA's *Baan Eua Arthorn* project because they did not want to contribute their labour and experienced trouble with a conflictive participatory process or simply did not have time for community meetings. Additionally, former community leaders convinced people's preference for the NHA's *Baan Eua Arthorn* project. The NHA provided 33 square metres for an apartment in five-storey blocks costing 340,000 Baht per unit. Currently the project is not finished yet while the CODI's *Baan Mankong* is finished and occupied (CODI, 2008). The outcome of the CODI's *Baan Mankong* project is 2.5 and 3-storey row houses with 62.5 - 100 square metres and 20 square metre-apartment for renters. The residential units cost 215,000-360,000 Baht.

A participatory design process took place on the site. The CODI community architects worked with well-known architects to develop different house prototypes. Different

livelihoods were studied to identify different types of houses. Finally, four different housing types were developed – three different sizes of row houses and walk-up flats. Information from the research interview with a CODI community architect of the project indicated that families who had a tenure of two houses agreed to have one plot of 5x7 metres rather than two plots of 3.5x7 metres with a mezzanine on the second floor to maximize the use of space, because they wanted to spare space for the other community members and they were also worried that they would not be able to pay for the construction of a big house. Construction of the new houses started in 2005. It was still under construction when the research fieldwork was conducted. With reference to the CODI (2008), the construction is now completed. This community was divided into small groups of 15 households who would live in the same area. Not only were the small groups practical when designing new plans, but it was also useful to link people together once they lived nearby and started to collect cooperative monthly savings for welfare. Most of the houses were built by a private contractor hired by the community, except for 12 houses in one zone where the community members insisted to build it themselves. The project is mentioned as 'interesting' because it is claimed as a relatively successful project because of the strong bond between the community members.

In relation to the *Arkarn Songkhroa* Community (CASEPJ) *located in* Ayutthaya, it was a pioneer project before the *Baan Mankong Progarmme* was launched. It was a project completed five years ago. The project was implemented by the CASE architects with financial support from the NHA and the UCDO (the Urban Community Development Office, the organization which was transformed into the CODI in 2000). The community is located in an urban area in the municipality of Ayutthaya province 76 kilometres from Bangkok. With reference to the CODI (2008) and interviews from the research's fieldwork, the *Arkarn Songkhroa* Community is originally one of the first social housing projects in Thailand implemented in the late 1950s. The government built two simple timber row houses and rented them out to families whose houses had been affected by a fire in a nearby area. Afterwards, more houses were built in the open space and the community became crowded. Later, the community members claimed that the local authority stopped collecting the rent. Thus, the people occupied the land for free for decades. Some community members said that local politicians supported the exemption in an attempt to garner political votes. Around 1998, the community was afraid of eviction because of tourism and heritage conservation plans initiated by the city. The people started a savings group to show the city that they were organized and could be developed and integrated as part of the city conservation plans.

The community members were vendors, factory labourers, *tuk tuk* drivers and traditional Thai masseuses. The community received loans as a cooperative from the CODI to build the houses. Community infrastructure was fully subsidized by the NHA. CASE architects were hired by the CODI to plan the new community site plan and houses. The new site plan maintains 30 square metres for each plot and adding many micro open space

clusters on the site. CASE architects helped the community members design a two-storey core row-house model (3x7 metres) with an internal mezzanine on the second floor. The row house utilized 60 square metres and cost 63,000 Baht. The front and the back walls of the house were left empty, in an attempt to encourage the house owners to fill up the walls with the materials they had or could afford. The project is mentioned as an 'interesting' case because of its pioneer character. The project was conducted before the *Baan Mankong Programme* was launched. The participatory design process was introduced and the project was finalized. The community plan and houses were built in the agreed plan and style as discussed with the architect. However, there was only one household that used recycled materials from their old house in the new house.

5.3 Educators

The interviews with CU and SU architectural educators aimed to explore aspects of architectural education that needed to be changed in order to support the 'new professionalism' embodied in community architects and to explore resistance to integrating these aspects of an alternative approach into conventional architectural education.

The Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, was established in 1939. It was the first Faculty of Architecture in Thailand. Besides a good reputation in other disciplines, it is famous for producing very skillful and hi-quality graduates for the conventional architectural field. There are eight departments within the faculty – Thai Architecture, Interior Architecture, Architecture, Industrial Design, Landscape Architecture, Urban planning, Urban Design and Housing Development.

The Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University, was established in 1955. It is the second oldest Faculty of Architecture in Thailand. Besides a good reputation in other disciplines, it is also famous for vernacular architecture and Thai architecture. Interestingly, many of the community architects graduated from this school; that is, five out of nine CASE architects including the founder of the CASE. There are four departments within the faculty – Architecture, Related Arts in Architecture, Architectural Technology and Urban Design and Planning.

Concerning snowball sampling and quota sampling methods, from the Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, the researcher interviewed seven educators – two from the Architecture Department, including the Dean (CU06), two from the Urban Planning Department, two from the Housing Development Department and one from the Urban Design Department. It is important to note that the interviewee from the Urban Design Department

(CU07) was currently holding a position as the President of the Arsomsilp Institution of the Arts and Development, which had just launched a Master's Architecture Course on Community and Environmental Architecture for the academic year 2007 for the first time. The average time of the 7 interviews was 61 minutes. For the Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University, the researcher interviewed seven educators – four from the Architecture Department, including the Dean (SU02), two from the Urban Design and Planning Department and one from the Related Arts in Architecture Department (Please see Appendix 2 for the details of the interviewees). The average time of the 7 interviews was 48 minutes, which may seem a lot less than the architect group. The shorter amount of time compared to the architects' group was due to the smaller group of subjects to interview.

5.4 Architectural Professional Associations

The researcher interviewed the President of the two major architectural professional associations in Thailand. The first was the President of ACT (Key10-ACT) and the other was the President of ASA (Key10-ASA). The reason for choosing to interview only the president is because of time constraints. However, the presidents of the two organizations are persons who have an overview of the organizations; therefore, it is valid to use their opinions to represent the organizations.

5.5 Selected Housing and Alternative Architectural Education Experts

Snowball sampling method was employed with selected housing and alternative architectural education experts group. The main criteria was choosing the interviewees who had a specialization, experiences, or knowledge on a specific subject relevant to the research, such as, having a specialization, experiences and knowledge on participation, community development, low-cost housing policies, architectural profession and architectural education. The researcher interviewed 15 selected housing and alternative architectural education experts from different organizations (Please see Appendix 2 for the details of the interviewees). The average time of the 17 interviews was 62 minutes.

6. Data Analysis

Conversations from the face-to-face semi structure interviews and photo analysis were digitally recorded, when the interviewees agreed. Short-notes were also taken by the researcher to mark important points mentioned by the interviewees. The researcher looked at the short notes first to understand the overall picture of the feedback gained from the

interviewees and then conducted in-depth analyses from the transcriptions of the recorded interview files. The files were transcribed by a team of undergraduate architectural students hired by the researcher. Choosing architectural students to transcribe the files made the process faster and more efficient, as often in the interviews, there is the use of architectural jargon by the interviewees.

The researcher digitally highlighted the text in different colours and codes according to different issues in order to decode the data. Referring to the theories of theory of action and reflective practice as mentioned in the previous chapters, the codes are categorized into four main parts – the new architectural values, knowledge, skills and the alternative architectural education. Under each subject, reflections from different study populations are compared. Focussing on the new architectural professionalism, reflections on practice from the architects are compared with these of their clients. This aims to explore the effectiveness of the architects' theory of action. At the same time, data from the different groups of architects are internally compared to explore their similarity and difference towards the internal consistency and congruence of their espoused theory and theory-in-use and the values and testability of their practice. Moreover, data from the selected housing and alternative architectural education experts was additionally analyzed.

In relation to alternative architectural education, data was analyzed from various groups in the study populations. They are architects, architectural professional associations and architectural educators – the conventional and alternative ones. The codes for analysing this part were firstly divided into two main parts to access the challenges of alternative architectural education – new architectural content which is the new architectural professionalism explored in the previous chapters and new architectural pedagogy. However, because the categories could not well explain the data concerning the challenges of alternative architectural education gained from the interviewees, the categories were transformed into five categories with more specific aspects:

- Values of architects, architectural educators and students
- Alternative architectural content: integrating new knowledge and skills
- New architectural pedagogy
- Curriculum and course management
- Support from the government.

This shows that the analytical framework and the findings are reflectively interacted in this research. The former shaped the latter and the other way around.

7. Ethical Considerations and the Role of the Researcher

The researcher respects the confidentiality of the interviewees. At the beginning of all interviews, the researcher clearly explained the aim of this research: that it was for academic purposes to explore challenges and tensions in the practice of ‘architecture of empowerment’ and was not meant to judge their performances or opinions. The researcher also assured all interviewees that their identities would be kept confidential. This enabled them to express their thoughts comfortably and openly. Especially for the client group, some ordinary community members expressed fear of losing their social security, if they criticized staff or community leaders.

Accessibility to the interviewees and information gained from this research fieldwork could not have been established without the researcher’s personal connections with the NHA, CODI and CASE organizations and architectural schools at Chulalongkorn University and Silpakorn University. In relation to the researcher’s connection with CASE architects, the researcher has worked with CASE for two years helping them organizing academic workshops in Thailand. It is important to note that the researcher’s involvement with CASE and personal connections with the CASE founder, who has a wealth of professional networks with CODI and CASE architects, helped immensely in obtaining in-depth information from the CODI and CASE architects. Because the CODI and CASE architects felt ‘close’ to the researcher, it was noticeable that they felt relatively comfortable to express their opinion openly. However, the researcher acknowledged a personal positive bias towards CASE architects at the beginning of the research process. Thus, the researcher also asked CASE architects’ clients, NHA and CODI architects to criticize the work of CASE architects in order to gain different reflections from various groups of people.

With regard to the researcher’s connection with CU and SU architectural educators, the researcher graduated from and worked as an architectural lecturer at the Department of Technical Architecture, Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University for a year and a half. Certainly, it was relatively easy to contact SU educators for an interview. The researcher interviewed a great number of people from different departments to avoid a personal bias and also asked the interviewed educators to cross-criticize themselves. Moreover, being recognized as a lecturer also facilitated a better connection with CU educators as they perceived the researcher as their peer rather than an outsider or merely an interviewer. This helped the researcher to gain more in-depth information concerning architectural education from them.

In relation to the researcher’s bias in data collection especially from the photo analysis session, the researcher balanced photos of what the researcher considered as

'positive', 'negative' and 'neutral'. The researcher also showed the photos in a random manner. It is true that a few obvious photos delivered predictable responses. However, it is interesting to note that for many photos which the researcher thought of as a representative of 'slums of hope' – with the use of decorations and evidence of design-quality – were perceived by many NHA architects as 'slums of despair'. Simultaneously, on the contrary, the photos which the researcher thought of as a representative of 'slums of despair' – with an obvious non-hygienic way of life or the use of very low quality of material – some CODI and CASE architects perceived as 'slums of hope'. The researcher was aware of personal bias in relation to some photos and only collected, decoded and analyzed the data as presented by the interviewees.

8. Strengths and Limitation of the Research

One of the strengths of the research methodology is the inductive approach which focuses on the theory of action of the community architects. As mentioned, there are a lot of theories and discourses on participation and community development, but there are very few studies exploring the practice of participation and community development from the view of the practitioners, especially from that of community architects.

The strength of using Thailand for the study was that participation and empowerment was relatively widely recognized and developed through time with support from governmental policies. Architects, although mostly young and inexperienced, had opportunities to practice and learn from the programmes. For example, the architects were officially hired and their networks of academic partnerships and other social networks were well established. Official support for the architects and their organizations made it easier for the researcher to systematically collect data from the fieldwork. At the same time, because the programmes such as *Baan Aua Arthorn* and *Baan Mankong* were relatively new, there were many challenges to be explored. The weaknesses are that because the two programmes were very popular, many other researchers used them for their study. This could have resulted in the architects and the beneficiaries experiencing 'interview fatigue.' However, the researcher found that very few clients complained about this issue.

The interviewees were very busy, especially members of the architect group. Therefore, it was difficult to set a date for an appointment with them. The researcher had to prepare all questions very well to make the interviews as short and efficient as possible. However, the researcher did not stop interviewing new people until the data gathered was repeated and no new information came out. At the same time, many architects stated that, due to immense workloads, they hardly had time to stop working and reflect on their practice.

They stated that being interviewed by the researcher actually allowed them to start thinking and reflecting on their work. With regard to the role of this research as a catalyst, this point could be further developed in the future. One of the weaknesses of the research was that although it extensively employed and explored 'action science', the research itself was not an action research. It would be useful in the future to have an action research, employing the same theoretical frameworks, where the research process could catalyse a transformation process and at the same time reflect on it.

Furthermore, the strength of the research methodology is its triangulation by mixing different methods used within the cross-sectional qualitative approach, such as semi-structured face-to-face interviews, observer-as-participant observation and photo analysis, which were employed to cross-check findings. Cross-sectional questionnaires also have their strength in rechecking information gained and in comparing the similarities and differences between and within each study population. For example, similar questions were posed to the architects and the clients, the architects and the educators, the NHA architects and the community architects and the community leaders and the ordinary community members.

A limitation of the interview was that sometimes people tended to say 'good' and 'nice' things, because they were afraid to be judged as unknowledgeable or unkind. Therefore, as mentioned, the researcher had to make it clear at the beginning of the interview that the aim of the research was not about drawing a line between 'good' and 'bad'. It was more to explore the complexity of the phenomenon in the world of practice. To a certain degree, the researcher could analyse the interviewee's values and attitudes from their answers to a set of questions, but this was limited. That is why the photo analysis was used. However, the photo analysis also consumed a lot of time, especially with the study population of the architect group, with whom there were many issues to be explored besides the value of their professionalism.

Furthermore, the questions for different study population groups needed a different format and language. For example, the language used for some questions had to be simplified, especially for the client group who might have different educational backgrounds from the other groups. All the questions were framed in a way that asked the study population to 'tell a story' through their experiences, not to 'answer exam questions'.

Finally, observer-as-participant observation in the everyday life of the community architect has its strengths and limitations. The strength was that it gave the researcher a better understanding of what the practitioners encountered and experienced in their everyday life. Although the researcher already knew about the participatory design process in theory and the experiences which the researcher had when supporting CASE architect on academic

issues gave insight to the working process, the observer-as-participant observation in the everyday life of the community architect revealed to the researcher that the reality of community architects was far from being in an ivory tower. The researcher realized from engaging in participatory observation that things were so much more complex in the field. Merely trying to bring about a small change or task could mean a major amount of communication and management effort on the part of the practitioners. A challenge was to draw clear boundaries regarding the extent to which the researcher should participate to avoid giving too much influence on the nature of the live observation.

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Chapter 5: Urban Poor Housing Policies, Architectural Professional Development and Architectural Education in Thailand

1. Introduction

While Chapter 2 discussed the evolvement of architecture and housing policy for the urban poor, focusing on the roles of architects and the changing relationship between the state, civil-society and private sectors, and the Chapter 3 explained the development of architectural practice and education at the global level, this chapter aims to compare the development of different types of architects under different timelines and approaches to urban poor housing in Thailand.[1] It shows the relationship between economic and urban development and architectural practice and education.

First, this chapter discusses the development of conventional architects from the 1930s when the first School of Architect was established at Chulalongkorn University in 1933 in response to the beginning of urbanization. In the early 1940s to 1950s, the Thai government established the Housing Bureau Act, the Housing Bureau in the Department of Public Welfare and the Government Housing Bank in order to deal with the increasing housing demand in Thailand. The end of the 1950s marked the beginning of a structural economic change and rapid urbanization.

Second, this chapter will study the role of public architects from the early 1960s to the mid-1970s when the first four slums in Thailand emerged and rapidly expanded in Bangkok and the Government of Thailand set up the Central Office for Slums Improvement attached to the Bangkok Municipality. In 1973 the NHA was established and adopted a conventional approach to low-income housing that promoted standardized high-rise flats. Public architects re-emerged in the 2000s when the nation-wide low-cost housing programme for the urban poor, the *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme was launched in 2003-2008.

Third, the roles of architects working under the periods of public-meet-community sector and the beginning of the withdrawing state are illustrated from the mid 1970s to the 1980s when an enabling strategy was developed in low-income housing policy in Thailand (Seik, 1992). The NHA introduced sites-and-services and slum upgrading programmes in the late 1970s. In the 1980s, the Thai Government minimized its funding for the NHA and shifted its focus from supporting the NHA to enabling the market to provide housing for low-income

[1] The analysis of this chapter is drawn from various government documents in Thai translated into English by the researcher. It is important to note that the dates in Thai documents often refer to the Thai Buddhist Era (BE) which is different from the Western Christian Era. BE 1 has an epoch of 543 BC. Thus, for example the decade of BE 2510-2520 corresponds to the years 1967-1977.

households. However, it is clear that the capitalist market provided insufficient housing for these households.

Fourth, the last section discusses the emergence of the 'new architectural professionalism' of 'community architects' namely, architects from the Community Organisations Development Institute (CODI) and Community Architects for Shelter and Environment (CASE), in the early 1990s. The Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) was established in 1992 (it became the CODI in 2000) and CASE was founded in 1997. CODI and CASE architects are both responsible for the nation-wide slum upgrading *Baan Mankong* programme which was launched in 2003-2008, in parallel with the NHA's *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme.

In each section, the three organizations – the National Housing Association (NHA), the Community Organisations Development Institute (CODI) and Community Architects for Shelter and Environment (CASE) – which are the main study population of this research, are introduced. This chapter explains how each organization was established in response to different national and city development trends to deal with slum problems and housing demand for low-income earners. The chapter further illustrates the quantitative and qualitative gaps in housing policies for the urban poor, which the NHA failed to fill. It also addresses some challenges encountered by the CODI and CASE in attempting to fill those gaps. This Chapter will describe qualitative and quantitative differences between the architectural discipline and slum problems. It will also discuss examples of architectural schools that have attempted to integrate alternative issues relating to housing poverty and informal settlements into the curriculum.

2. The Development of Conventional Architecture (1930s-1950s)

2.1 The Transformation of Bangkok: Structural Economic Change and Urbanization

Prior to the 1940s, it could be said that there was no housing problem in Thailand as the population was quite small, even in Bangkok. During World War II, the Government established a Public Welfare Housing Unit, under the Department of Public Welfare attached to the Ministry of the Interior, to focus on housing estates in rural areas. After World War II, the lack of adequate housing became more evident because most houses were damaged and destroyed during the war and many people migrated to Bangkok in the hope of earning a higher income. There were many plans to revive and reconstruct Bangkok. The rapid population growth of Bangkok was magnified during the post-war period. There was pressure

on the rural villagers as a result of the significant gap between the wages of unskilled labour in urban areas and the countryside.

Table 5-1: Estimated population of Bangkok and Thonburi 1883-1937 and its urban primacy

Year	Population	Annual average growth (%)	Ratio Bangkok/Chiang Mai[2]
1883	169, 300	1.90	10:1
1913	365,492	2.60	12:1
1929/30	702,544	3.92	14:1
1937	890,453	3.44	15:1

Source: Askew, 2002: 37

During 1947-1956 (B.E.2490s), the Thai government aimed to modernize the country by following the model of industrialised capitalism. Land titles were introduced as part of the modernization process. However, many people did not register their land because they thought it was not important. They did not realize that the failure to do so could turn their land into government property and they would become the encroachers. As a result of land speculation, rich people bought land near the centre and suburban areas at bargain prices.

The first outcome of the governmental housing policy was the establishment of the Housing Bureau Act in 1942. In 1951, the Thai Government reconstituted the Housing Bureau in the Department of Public Welfare. In 1952, the government established the Government Housing Bank attached to the Ministry of Finance to support private housing developers and ordinary citizens who wished to build homes. Thailand's first official effort concerning housing policy was aimed at the less fortunate and "was considered an act of charity to be rendered by the government" (Chiu, 1985: 67). For the low-income earners, the government played the role as a 'provider' building the first welfare housing projects in 1950. The role of Thai civil society and the market was minimal. Internationally, this movement paralleled the Conventional Housing Policy in the 1950s-1960s as mentioned in Chapter 2.

In 1957, the word 'slum' in English was translated into the Thai language as "*Lang Seom Srome*", meaning rotten place, decayed area, or area in decline (Rabibhadana, 1999). Governmental interventions in the decree of 1959 included plans to clear some major slums.

2.2 Architectural Practice and Education

The role of architects and architectural schools in responding to the housing needs of the urban poor in the 1950s was minimal, as the architectural profession itself was newly

[2] Chiang Mai is the second largest city in Thailand located in the northern part of the country.

established and still in the nascent stages of development. Between the 1930s-1950s, although there were many architectural projects and buildings in the city, there were no registered architectural firms. Most of the architects worked as freelance architects. The profession was relatively new and it was not well recognized by the public. Most of the architectural design in this phase focussed on functional design, climatic design and attempted to integrate Thai architectural characteristics into modern buildings – function, materials and construction wise. As a result, there were many concrete buildings with traditional Thai roofs. Before formal architectural education was established, architectural knowledge and skills were passed down from generation to generation in specific craftsmen families. Thai pioneer architects had different reasons to become architects. Most related to architectural aesthetical inspiration, fame, social status and the idea of having 'their' architecture outlive them (Tiptus, 1999; 1996). This greatly reflects their professional values of conventional architects as 'expert.'

After the Thai polity had transformed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy in 1932, a formal architectural curriculum was created leading to the establishment of the first architectural school at Chulalongkorn University in 1933. The Association of Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage (ASA) was founded in 1934. Nart Potiprasart, who studied architecture at Liverpool University, was the first person who designed the architectural curriculum of Thailand, starting with a three-year programme for a diploma degree. In 1939 a five-year bachelor's degree programme was developed. The focus of the curriculum concerned mainly arts as the school was greatly influenced by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts teaching style which focused on classical architecture and art history. There were few architectural educators who specialized in Thai architecture as most of them studied architecture abroad, namely in England and France. The architectural programme or the design brief for the students was given and defined by the tutors. Interaction between architectural tutors and students was limited.

The attempt to balance western and eastern architecture in architectural schools slowly developed. Nart Potiprasart transformed the architectural curriculum in 1954 when he decided to reduce the number of subjects in classical architecture. In relation to the architectural knowledge, the curriculum resembled the style of the school of architecture in Liverpool University which focussed more on modern architecture emphasizing functional design, contextual design and construction. The work of the 'great masters' from modern architecture, such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius, Mies van de Rohe and Le Corbusier were widely studied.

The second architectural school of Thailand was founded at Silpakorn University in 1955 focussing on traditional Thai architecture. Four years later, the school integrated

modern architecture with Thai architecture in its curriculum. At that time, it was widely acknowledged that the profession of architecture was one of an honourable 'gentleman.'[3] The architectural students were extensively influenced by their tutors, as most of them wanted to please the tutors and they were not confident to express their own thoughts. The teaching pedagogy was not reflective in character. Similarly, the value of 'expert' architect was nurtured and was dominant at this time.

3. The Development of Public Architecture (1960s to mid 1970s)

3.1 Confronting Urbanization and the Growth of Slums

During this phase, the first Thailand National Economic and Social Development Plan (1961-1966) aimed to transform Thailand from an agricultural country to an industrial country. The modernization process required an immense amount of cheap labour for the commercial and service sectors in cities. Agricultural development in rural areas also failed. Bangkok was the centre of Thailand's economy, financial system, health-care services, education, politics and administration. The gap between the rural areas and Bangkok were wide and growing. As a result of these push and pull factors, many rural dwellers migrated to the city.

Low income earners could not afford to buy land and land speculation made the possibility even more remote. Many land owners involved in land speculation left their land empty, thus, many rural migrants settled there. The land owners did not take any action, neither evicting people nor providing any basic infrastructure. At the same time, the community members did not want to invest too much in an insecure house. Therefore, the living conditions of those communities worsened through the years and became slums. When the price of land increased, the land owners would evict people and sell the land (Rabibhadana et al., 1982, Rabibhadana, 1999). Korff (1986 as cited in Rabibhadana 1999) stated that slums in Bangkok during the 1960s-1970s emerged from rural migration, but the reason slums remained and expanded was because of their lack of economic power and accessibility to affordable land.

The first four slums of Thailand emerged and expanded rapidly in Bangkok in the 1960s for different reasons. The first community was transformed from a shelter provided for construction builders called *Prem Pracha* community located in the urban area of Bangkok which later became much more crowded. The second community, *Wat Lard Bua Kao*, located in the southern part of Bangkok next to the *Choa Praya* river, looked almost like a rural riverside village**.** There were industrial factories nearby and many people migrated there

[3] The majority of architectural students at that time were men.

and paid low rents for the land and built the houses themselves. The third slum is in *Soi Namthip* located in the central business district of Bangkok. The farmers sold their land to land entrepreneurs and became workers in factories in the nearby areas. Similarly, many people migrated there paying low rents for the land and houses, and built their own houses. The fourth slum is *Maggasan* Bridge where the community is located in the business district of Bangkok and people settled on vacant land owned by the State Railway of Thailand. The community expanded when the area was commercially developed.

During the 1970s, slums in Bangkok doubled in size and number because of the natural growth rate and a lack of opportunities to improve their social status. More than two-thirds of the slum dwellers were born in Bangkok and they did not have the economic means to move out of slums (Askew, 2002, Rabibhadana, 1999). Slum development projects during 1967-1976 were widely associated with charity, relief and aid. It was assumed that slums emerged from inadequacies, which led the government to improve the situation by providing aid and better hygiene standards for the public.

Studies of slums in Thailand during 1967-1976 (BE 2510s) focussed mainly on technical and policy issues such as hygiene and urban zoning and encompassed very few studies concerning the social problems and behaviour of slum dwellers. There were many surveys and statistics collected by the government for the purpose of slum clearance projects. The government played the role as 'physical developer' (Panitchpakdi et al., 2001). Most of the information influencing the government's views on slums came from economist and architects with very few perceptions originating from sociologists. Slum dwellers were perceived in two ways – first, as invaders who created problems and should be evicted; and second, as passive recipients who were perceived as lazy, ignorant and could not help themselves (Rabibhadana, 1999, Phonchokchai, 1985, Viengsang et al., 2005).

The housing supply provided by the state and private sectors in Bangkok could not meet the housing demands of the rapidly increasing urban population in the city. In 1960, there were an estimated 740,000 people living in overcrowded communities in Bangkok (Askew, 2002). From the 1960s there was a high degree of land speculation and land prices increased rapidly. It is well acknowledged that this led to slum evictions because the markets assumed that it was not financially feasible to let the poor stay on high-value land. Around 1960, the Government of Thailand set up the Central Office for Slums Improvement (Senanuch, 2007), which was originally identified as the Slum Clearance Office (Chiu, 1985), attached to the Bangkok Municipality now the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA). The first eviction took place in 1963 to clear slums in front of the Department of Highways in order to build government offices. Some residents moved to new public housing (high-rise flats) provided by the Bangkok Municipality. The majority received compensation and

proceeded to created new slums elsewhere in the city. The Central Office for Slums Improvement had the responsibility to control, improve and demolish poor conditions of housing, buildings and slums. Slum eviction was a part of the second Thailand National Economic and Social Development Plan (1967-1971). This phase marked the beginning of slum evictions and the construction of many subsidized concrete social flats.

Despite the political will of the Thai Government to set up four separate agencies responding to the emergence of slums – the Public Welfare Housing Division (1940), the Housing Bureau (1951), the Government Housing Bank (1952) and the Central Office for Slums Improvement (1960) attached to the Bangkok Municipality (Senanuch, 2007, Chiu, 1985) – the problem of inadequate housing provisions for the urban poor remained. One reason was because each unit was attached to different departments and their work was isolated from one another. Given the poor performance of the four units (by 1973 only 11, 268 rental units were built and 5,431 plots of land were allocated, despite the actual need for 100,000 units), the government established the NHA in 1973. It set out to respond to the housing demands of the poor and lower-to-middle income groups. Clearing slums and resettling community members affected by the clearing operations was one of the original objectives of the NHA (Chiu, 1985). During 1973-1975, the aim was to complete projects transferred from its four predecessor departments. Approximately 8,000 residential units were built.

The work of the NHA architects in the mid-1970s was the pioneer practice of public architects who provided standardized residential units for low-income households. The NHA housing policy changed during the late 1970s-1980s and is discussed in the next section. From 1973 to 2004, the NHA developed 451,222 residential units. Amongst these, 71.8% were in the Bangkok metropolitan and greater Bangkok area and 28.2% were in regional areas. With respect to the types of housing projects, 56.5% were slum upgrading, 30.5% were housing community projects, 11% were for governmental officers and 0.71% were 3,221 units from the *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme.

3.2 Architectural Practice and Education

In the 1960s, most of the companies were based on the ‘sole practitioner’ company structure, where the architect was the owner and manager of the company. Later in the phase, partnership and other larger types of company structures became more prevalent. Some people perceived architects to be in a profession which did not serve the majority of society. There were more commercial and industrial buildings and functional design remained the focus in practice. There were also attempts to search for contemporary Thai

styles while at the same time, high technology and high-rise buildings were introduced. Architects acted as leaders in the design process because it was believed that architects knew more than the clients. Architects were distinguished from draftspersons by their ability to design (Tiptus, 1999, Tiptus, 1996). Furthermore, while the trend of modern architecture remained popular in both architectural practice and schools, there was a criticism that there was an inadequate focus on local and vernacular knowledge. The Faculty of Architecture in Silpakorn University which had mainly focused its teaching content on Thai architecture also shifted its curriculum to modern architecture in the 1960s.

With respect to the roles of other educational institutions concerning community development work, since 1971, the Faculty of Social Administration at Thammasart University trained their students in community work collaborating with many community-based organizations (CBOs) in slums. It became widely accepted that it was valuable for universities to use 'live' community projects as part of their society-related courses. Slums were perceived as a 'studio' or a 'laboratory' for social practice for university students (Rabibhadana et al., 1982). However, regardless of the confrontation of the growth of slums and the establishment of the NHA, mainstream architectural practice and education in this phase remained irrelevant to the urban poor housing problems until the mid-1970s. After the violent democratic movement on 14 October 1973 in Thailand, people's awareness and concern for the poor increased and their willingness to learn from the poor increased. Many university students were interested in politics and the problems of the poor. This change in social attitudes also affected architectural schools in the mid 1970s which is discussed further in the next section.

4. Public Meets Community Sector and the Beginning of the Withdrawing State (mid 1970s to the 1980s): Implications for Architecture

4.1 Shifting from Conventional Housing Policy to Supporting Approaches

The urban poor housing policy in this phase faced a complex dilemma due to the financial inability of the Government to maintain its role as a 'provider' in solving the slum problem. From the early 1970s to the mid-1970s, the aim of the NHA remained the same since it was originally established in 1973 – to build ready-to-occupy low-cost housing for the urban poor. The NHA had planned to build 120,000 residential units during 1976-1980 for low-income groups with intensive government subsidies. However, the NHA experienced financial problems because of the rising cost of construction and building materials. Thus, the organization scaled down its targets within a few years because of funding shortages and unanticipated delays. Additionally, many NHA clients did not pay the rent. A senior NHA

researcher (KEY06) stated in an interview for this research that the Government of Thailand assumed that the NHA should be financially self-sufficient, thus, the government decreased its subsidy. Therefore, it was almost impossible for the NHA to accomplish its goals – quantitatively, qualitatively and financially. By 1978 the NHA abandoned its reliance on the subsidized housing division because of a lack of government funding, and slum upgrading and sites-and-services were incorporated into NHA's Accelerated Plan for 1979-1982.

The NHA's slum upgrading projects in 1978 focused mainly on physical improvements such as walkways, water supply, electricity, drainage, waste management and fire protection. From 1980, the Assemblymen's Development Funds[4] supported the improvement of basic community facilities in a number of slums. As a result, the appearance of slums began to change, yet the insecurity of land tenure remained the same (Askew, 2002). Sites-and-services was introduced and promoted by the World Bank. During 1979-1982, the NHA received loans from the World Bank and applied its policy through the promotion of sites-and-services housing programme in Thailand. The NHA encountered numerous failures because the projects were not appropriate to the lifestyle of Thailand's urban poor who actually did not want to invest their energy, money and time in unfinished structures. The location of the projects was also too far from the city centre.

In parallel, from 1978, NHA proposed hire-purchase housing schemes for middle-income-earners, especially civil servants, and conducted resettlement and flat building projects for the poor. "The NHA's forced abandonment of the high-subsidy approach to low-income housing… did reflect the state's capitulation to the forces of the urban land market…" (Askew, 2002: 66). However, the efficiency of the NHA was low, constructing only approximately 6,000 low-cost housing units per year. At the same time, after the early 1980s when Thailand was hard hit by the oil crisis, the economic growth was incredibly improved in 1986. Therefore, the government decided to decrease financial support for the NHA and shifted support to the private sector to build houses for low-income and middle-class groups.

Table 5-2 below shows that between 1984-1988 the public housing built by the NHA accounted for only 3.3% of the housing stock. Large scale / developer built housing produced nearly the half of the housing stock. However, the supply of low-cost housing by private developers could be described as being relatively insignificant for the urban poor. The demand for low-income housing in 1988 was 130,000 units and the output of low-cost housing by developers in 1988 was estimated at close to only 4000 units: 600 units of row houses and over 3000 low-cost condominium units. Therefore, the supply gap was about 70%

[4] The Government set up a budget for the people in local communities with the suggestion and recommendation of the assemblymen.

of the demand (Seik, F.T, 1992: 1141). At the same time, there was an over-supply of medium- and high-income houses. This is not surprising since only 10% of the developers built low-cost housing given the financial constraints of land prices and building materials (Seik, 1992).

Table 5-2: Housing stock in metropolitan Bangkok, 1974, 1984 and 1988, by type of housing

Type of housing	1874	1984	1988	Absolute increase, 1984-1988	Share of 1984-1988 (percent)	Annual compound increase, 1984-1988 (percent)
Large scale/developer built	20,193	113,755	270,800	157,045	49.6	24.2
Shop houses	134,766	247,552	257,266	9,714	3 .1	1 .0
Small-scale / independently built	262,345	363,323	479,995	116,672	36.9	7 .2
Slum housing	139,326	160,145	170,638	10,493	3 .3	1 .6
Public housing	28,533	74,708	85,000	10,292	3 .3	3 .3
Other housing	N/A	38,951	51,323	12,372	3 .9	7 .1
Total	585,163	998,436	1,315,022	316,586	100.0	7 .1

Source: Dowell, D, 1992: 28

In relation to the academic sphere, slum studies in 1980s in Thailand became more practice-based, and began to encompass more reflective opinions. The voices of slum dwellers were represented more often. However, a large number of slum evictions continued because of Bangkok's rapid growth. Although the government started to employ the term 'people participation' in its policies, in practice decisions and plans were made by the government (Viengsang et al., 2005).

In 1982, foreign consultants proposed to build more bridges and expressways for Bangkok's transportation system. Many poor people were evicted from the expropriated land. In response, many NGOs emerged during this time and became active agents, perceiving slums as an important working unit supporting city capitalism, representing the centre of struggles and a reflection of Bangkok's physical transformation. Slums were also perceived to be a transitional space for rural migrants to familiarize themselves with city life. The NGOs promoted the extended concept of people-centred community development and people participation. 'Development' now meant organizing people who wanted to gain more power to effect change on their own through a learning process that made people think, plan and work together in order to solve problems from all aspects of their life. The social developer was merely a 'catalyst' and an 'organizer.' A slum dweller was an actor, not a victim (Rabibhadana et al., 1982: 147-148). Issues dealing with democracy, human rights and the

environment were discussed more often in public. There were more attempts to understand slums from the point of view of slum dwellers. Strengthening community organization was the main aim of the NGOs. Partnerships and multilateral community networks were widely promoted (Patpui, 1984, Pintobtang, 1998).

Between 1984-1988 a quarter of all inner city slums disappeared, but the total number of informal settlements increased, most of them forming in the industrialising fringe areas outside of Bangkok (Askew, 2002). In the early 1980s the definition of 'participation' started to expand from its focus on community-based organization to its networks. Slum dwellers changed their strategies by employing lobbying, public demonstrations and the use of the media in a more strategic manner (Askew, 2002).The focus shifted from shared responsibility to thinking and working together. The concept of participatory research was promoted with an attempt to link universities to the society. Research, training and implementation were interconnected. Research was conducted 'with' community members allowing them to learn at the same time with the researchers. Training and implementation meant the researchers/community developers and community members thought and worked together and did not force the latter to sit in a class where the former 'taught' or provided help.

During this period, there were attempts to destigmatise the areas labelled by the English word, as 'slum'. The new Thai translation of slum [English] from "*Lang Seom Srome*" meaning "rotten areas", to "*Chumchon Air Aud*" meaning "congested community" in 1982 was an example of such an attempt. The changing terminology reflected a transformation of NHA policies from slum eviction to slum upgrading. However the attempt seemed to fail as the meaning of the word "congested community" was not different from the word "rotten place." In other words, the name had changed, but the code had not (Rabibhadana, 1999). Additionally, many communities upgraded by the NHA were evicted afterwards by the land owners. This is because early slum upgrading focussed mainly on physical improvement, not land tenure security.

Most definitions of "congested community" defined by most organizations in the phase were negative. The Ministry of the Interior defined a "slum" as "a housing area where the buildings are decayed, dirty, crowded and lacking by hygienic standards and where normal life was hardly able to be pursued" (Rabibhadana, 1999: 18). Phonchokchai's definition of a slum (1985 as cited in Rabibhadana, 1999) was "an unorganised and decayed community with a population density of more than 15 families or 80 residents per rai[5]". He also described slum dwellers to be aggressive, deviating socially, persistent and passive. He identified four major physical components characterizing slums as overcrowdedness, limited privacy, substandard housing conditions and substandard environment (Pornchokchai, 1992).

[5] 1 *rai* equals 1 400 square metres, therefore 80 persons per *rai* equals a density of 571 persons per hectare PPH

Slums were understood to employ inappropriate building materials and use inadequate open space, walkways, drainages, ventilation, water supply and electricity. Slums were thought to be rife with hygienic and family-related problems. The NHA's definition referred to "a non-hygienic area usually unsafe, flooded, humid or dirty encompassing crowded areas full of residents. An area prone to illegal and immoral activities, the density is more than 30 families per *rai*" (Rabibhadana, 1999: 18).

4.2 Architectural Practice and Education

There was a dilemma within the phase because although the social awareness of architects was promoted, the economic development of Thailand was booming. There were many commercial projects constructed by the private sector. At the same time, there were more vernacular materials employed in building design. Post-modern architecture was introduced and criticised that it focused mainly on pluralistic 'styles.' Many architects stated that post-modern architecture in Thailand in the period 1977 – 1986 (BE 2520s) was not different from modern architecture because both were not concerned with the context of Thailand, of the Thai user, or of human behaviour in general. A minimal style was merely being replaced by a complex style (Horayangkura, 1990, Tiptus, 1996). At a later part of this phase, computer aided design was introduced in architectural practice and became dominant in commercial architectural presentation in the later phase. There were more departments established under architectural schools, dealing with topics such as Urban Design, Industrial Design, Urban Planning, Housing Design and Landscape.

After the October democratic uprising in 1973, the link between challenges posed by slums and architectural practice and education became more explicit in the mid 1970s. A number of academic architectural design studies and research concerning human behaviour during the period of 1977-1986 (BE. 2520s) used low-income housing and communities as case studies (Horayangkura et al., 1993a). However, it is important to point out that the science of human behavioural studies in architecture was employed mainly for the architects to understand the users so that architects could improve their design. It did not try to empower the users to better understand their own problems and situations. In other words, it was a science meant to increase the effectiveness of the designer, but it hardly related to the idea of self-actualization and empowerment of the users. There were different architectural programmes in architectural schools, concerning such subjects as housing for construction workers, self-sufficiency in community design, and low-income housing linking design to the livelihoods of the residents, their behaviours and lifestyles, all in an attempt to widen the architectural agenda in architectural education. There were frequent site visits to low-income

communities and the students were encouraged to conduct social activities inside and outside universities.

Architectural students also became more confident in criticising their tutors and the education system. Many students criticized their tutors for not being open-minded and focussing merely on the product and valuing glossy presentations. They also said that social and environmental concerns were inadequately incorporated into the architectural curriculum; architectural schools did not encourage students to respect other people's opinions, and design was referred to as something that was subjective which could not be discussed and exchanged (Tiptus, 1996; 1999).

5. Neoliberal Policy and the Development of the 'New Professionalism' of 'Community Architects' (1990s to the Present)

5.1 The Rise of the Alternative Approach

In 1990, there were approximately 1.55 million residential units in Bangkok. The majority or 55% were constructed by the private sector, 22% by ordinary people, 12% were slums, and only 8.5% were provided by the NHA and 2.5% by others. It was clear that the NHA could not meet housing demand. Government policies during 1992-1996 focussed more on low-income groups especially for those living in slum areas. As a result, in 1992, the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) was established under the NHA and became the CODI in 2000. The UCDO started with a US$50 million capital budget to make loans available to organized communities. The interest rate was much lower than other loan sources pursued by the urban poor, but high enough to sustain administrative costs. With the establishment of the UCDO, there was an attempt to bring together different groups of people into its executive boards – senior governmental staff, academics and community representatives.

By mid-1997, Thailand and Bangkok suffered from the financial crisis and by late 1997 the Government of Thailand called on the IMF for a currency bail-out. Subsequently, the country was forced to accept the IMF structural adjustment programmes.

> "The disproportionate impact of the crisis on the poor highlighted the necessity for political reform, access to resources, 'people-centred' government and better leadership (Arsa and Chira 1999). Paradoxically, the claims for the participation and representation of marginalised people in the emergent public politics of the decade

were framed within a globalised rhetoric of human rights and democratisation." (Atiya 1997; Mydans, 1999 as cited in Askew, 2002: 94-95)

As a result, the Eighth Thailand National Economic and Social Development Plan (1997-2001) aimed at sustainable development by shifting the focus from economic development to human development (Viengsang et al., 2005). The slum dwellers' struggle was transformed from having to deal with *ad hoc* solutions to setting more sustainable long-term plans that drove changes at policy levels. By the 1990s, it was evident that slum dwellers negotiated their survival space with a more complex approach through continued lobbying, networking and partnerships.

Rabibhadana (1999) proposed that it was important to change the stigmatized perceptions of people towards slums because this was the root-cause of injustice. Satsanguan (1994) suggested that more participatory observations and anthropological research should be conducted to understand the behaviour of slum dwellers. Although governmental interventions dealing with slum problems in Thailand started many decades ago, currently there is no consensus on the definition of 'slums.' Panitchpakdi et al., (2001) concluded the general implications of slums as follows:

- Physical: Decayed, unhygienic communities, inadequate basic infrastructure. This is the general description as understood by outsiders and governmental departments.
- Density: 15 families per *rai* (as defined by Bangkok Metropolitan Administration) or 30 families per *rai* (as defined by NHA).
- Hygiene: Unhealthy for mind and body.
- Social and education: Slums were normally perceived as areas for illegal and immoral activities and provided inadequate education.
- Location: Usually marked by inadequate accessibility and located near job opportunities.
- Economy: Most slum dwellers work as cheap labour or in the informal sectors which are important elements of the city economy.
- Land tenure: Most slums have insecure land tenure, especially squatter settlements.

In 2003, in response to the great demand for low-income housing, the NHA primarily focuses solely on the *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme. It is important to note that it took the NHA approximately 30 years to develop approximately 450,000 residential units. Comparing the figure with the quantitative aim of the newly launched *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme which aimed to produce 600,000 residential units within five years, it is not surprising why the programme could not accomplish its aims qualitatively and quantitatively.

The Baan Eua Arthorn programme aimed to provide standard residential units for low-income, junior civil servants and government employees earning less than 22,000 Baht per month per family. The programme aimed at land ownership rather than house/room renting. The rent-to-own per month was supposed to cost approximately 10% of the family's income, with a flat-rate price of 390,000 Baht per unit. The government provided subsidies of 80,000 Baht per unit to cover the construction cost and public utilities. It cost approximately 420,000 Baht to build each unit. The margin was NHA's administration cost. There were four types of houses – the detached house, the attached house, the row-house and the condominium (24 and 33 square metres.) A financial feasibility study was conducted to specify which house type was affordable in a given location. After the clients passed a financial credit check, they received loans from two commercial banks.

When the research fieldwork was conducted, the whole programme had been stopped by the new government headed by Prime Minister Surayud Chulanont due to many problems – efficiency, effectiveness and transparency. By the year 2007, 348 projects and over 600,000 dwellings units under the *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme were planned. Three problem themes were identified (NHA, 2007).

- 65,293 completed projects encountered problems, because either the clients did not pass the banks' credit check or the projects had too many empty units.
- 334,352 units were under construction. More than 40% of this is due to delay. There were many problems, such as inappropriate location, fake demands in the pre-sale period, overlapping demands from other nearby *Baan Eua Arthorn* projects, inefficiency of private contractors and many clients failing to get loans from banks.
- 209, 417 units were not yet signed and contracted by the house owners. The NHA was afraid that if it took responsibility for all of these units, it would lead to organizational bankruptcy. There were plans to decrease the amount of units and to transfer responsibility to local authorities.

In relation to the other approach in low-income housing which is more participatory, as mentioned, in 2000, the UCDO merged with the Rural Development Fund to become a new public organization called the Community Organizations Development Institute (CODI). The CODI continued the programme of the UCDO but had its own legal entity as a public organization. The organization is no longer under the NHA. The work of the CODI primarily dealt with the poor's problems on a large scale and at the policy level. In 2004, the CODI had a fund of approximately 2.8 Billion Baht (US$ 70 million) of which 1.9 Billion Baht (US$ 47.5 million) was directly loaned to community members through four types of loans for community organizations (1) loans for housing and land; (2) loans for community enterprises; (3) loans to

networks for holistic development; and (4) flexible revolving fund loans to savings groups or networks.

In 2007, the density of Bangkok reached almost 30 times that of Thailand as a whole. In many ways, Bangkok continuously reflects the dichotomy between itself and the countryside. High-rise condominiums and apartments create a seemingly prestigious facade, using western architectural styles to falsely attract consumers. Table 5.3 shows the high density of Bangkok compared to the average density in Thailand.

Table 5-3: Comparison of population, population density and number of houses between Thailand and Bangkok (2007)

Region	Area	Population	Pop. Growth Rate	Density per sq.km.	Number of Houses
Thailand	513,120	63,038,247	0.3	123	20,089,221
BKK and vicinities	7,762	10,065,126	1.2	1,297	4,050,735
BKK	1,569	5,716,248	N/A	3,644	2,207,453

Source: NSO, 2008

From 1990s, the problem of slums and urban poor housing became serious and continues to grow. Referring to data from the year 2000 (CODI, 2004), there were 5,500 urban poor communities in Thai cities (7.75 million people, 1.5 million households). Of this total number, 1,750 urban poor communities (1.62 million people, 0.36 million households) had no serious tenure problems while 3,750 urban poor communities (5.13 million people, 1.14 million households) had problems with their tenure (37% located on private land, 36% located on public land and 26% located on mixed land). There were 1.5 million poor people (0.37 million households) living outside established communities (labourers, room-renters, homeless and temple dwellers). In total, there were approximately 8.25 million urban poor people in 1.87 million households. This comes to about 37% of Thailand's total urban population of 22.3 million people.

CODI (2004) stated that before the Asian economic crisis in 1997, approximately 56% of the working members in Thailand's urban poor communities earned less than 10,000 Baht a month. After the crisis, this figure rose to about 62%. Twenty six percent of the urban poor communities paid nothing at all for their housing and those who paid spent an average of 12% of their monthly income on housing. Access to the lowest level of private sector housing options cost at least 2,000 Baht a month, but the ability of the urban poor to pay for housing was as follows

- 30% could afford to pay 2,000 Baht a month or more
- 36% could afford to pay 1,500 Baht a month or more

- 54% could afford to pay 1,000 Baht a month or more (CODI, 2004)

The figures clearly show a big gap between what the market could provide and what the urban poor could afford. Clearly, the lack of adequate housing for the urban poor was and continues to be a great challenge in Thailand. Thus, as mentioned, there are two major housing programmes to 'provide' and 'support' low-cost housing for poor urban communities. CODI *Baan Mankong* programme claimed to be "more than just physical upgrading." In addition to infrastructure development, such as land fill, water supply, electricity systems and sewage drains, there are also attempts at environmental, social and economical development, such as plans for community improvement may include canal cleaning, alternative energy systems and playgrounds, establishing community welfare and developing community markets, community stores and loans for small businesses. The forms of development in each community vary and are flexible (CODI, 2004).

Compared to NHA's slum upgrading projects in the past, Boonyabancha (2005) stated that secure tenure, which is one of the keys of the *Baan Mankong* upgrading programmes, was not emphasized in the early upgrading projects implemented by the NHA. At that time, the upgrading projects that were considered were aimed more at providing specific infrastructure improvements. Therefore, the poor's social and legal status was not improved. However, she stated that the initiation of NHA's slum upgrading projects was a significant step that reflected a mild recognition of slums as a part of the city. This approach of upgrading is better than doing nothing because at least it changed the outsiders' perceptions towards slums as something that was just left-out.

The focus of the *Baan Mankong* programme is on the people's empowerment with an emphasis on the people's power to make decisions for themselves. The programme aims to liberate poor communities from a bilateral patron-client relationship. This involves three levels of dialogues in the *Baan Mankong* programme process. First, the programme allows communities to see their problems related to the city structures within the bigger picture. This implies that the poor communities are made to feel less isolated and less self-concerned. Second, the programme changed the usual negative perception of the outsiders towards slums. It shows outsiders that slums can be improved and integrated into city structures. Third, and most importantly, the programme allows poor communities to see their own capacity and believe in their own power and potential. This involves a self-actualization process of oneself (Boonyabancha, 2005). The third aspect relates greatly to Freire's *conscientisacion* and it supports the poor to develop their 'power from within'.

The normal negative perceptions of the outsiders towards slums, referring to them as something bad, hopeless or unacceptable, often became the social norm and it

subconsciously manipulated slum dwellers into believing that themselves. This problem is very challenging for community architects. Another obstacle relates to Thai culture, and the centuries old tradition of the patronage system. The people depend greatly on people 'above' them to help and support them (Rabibhadana et al., 1982, Horayangkura, 2000).

> "[W]hen you start working with them to make these improvements, it is like shaking people awake ... all it needs is a little adjusting, fixing up." (Boonyabancha, 2005: 39)

As she put it, the aim is to unleash community creativity – tapping into it, reviving and strengthening it.

> "Nobody can get that confidence by being told – you get it only by doing for yourself… Once people believe in their power, they start looking at things differently, and can adjust their relationships with other actors in the city." (Boonyabancha, 2005: 44)

Her statement implies an interaction between taking action and a change in a person's values. This implies reflection-in-action. The process can take place only when the practice is a reflective learning process.

CODI offers the following five options for community improvement (1) on-site upgrading; (2) reblocking; (3) land sharing; (4) reconstruction; and (5) relocation (CODI, 2004). Referring to Table 5-4 below, focusing on CODI's (2008) *Baan Mankong* progress between January 2003-March 2008, 512 projects were fully completed or were being implemented. This figure covers 1,010 communities in over 260 cities involving 54,000 households. However, the latest survey showed that there are approximately 3,500 informal communities with land and housing problems in Thailand. Additionally, it is important to note that although the number of implemented or being implemented households is large, it remains far from the 300,000 unit target.

Table 5-4: Percentage of CODI *Baan Mankong* programme approved projects

No.	Type of upgrading	Percentage
1	On-site upgrading, reblocking and reconstruction	64
2	Relocation with more than five kilometers away	22
3	Nearby relocation (less than five kilometers).	14

Source: CODI, 2008: 1

It is important to note that 78% of the households were upgraded in the same place or on land nearby. In addition, 83% of the households secured long-term land tenure security;

44% of them had cooperative land ownership; 39% of them had long-term leases for community cooperatives; 9% had permission to use land; and 8% had short-term leases (less than five years) for community cooperatives

Not only does the *Baan Mankong* programme aim to bring benefits to non-financial outcomes, but it also attempts to employ this pro-poor housing approach to trigger many other sorts of economic investments. As one of the keys of the programme is to support genuine partnership, the programme aims to be a win-win solution benefiting all partners – civil society, the government and the market. First, the programme generates money flow into the local economy. The CODI estimated that only 20% of economic activity came from government capital. The other 80% came from communities. Second, the people receive more valuable assets when they get access to land tenure security. Third, the land value in near the area being upgraded also increases. Fourth, in many cases local authorities invest in infrastructure improvements (CODI, 2008).

The *Baan Mankong* project employed five main tools in an attempt to uncover the energy and creativity of the urban poor communities (CODI, 2008: 3). They reflect CODI's commitment to the challenge of partnership and scaled-up participation and empowerment in urban poor housing policy. It is important to note that the tools CODI employed do not relate to conventional architectural skills trained from architectural schools. These new tools call for the new architectural skills.

The first tool and one of the most important, is flexible and accessible finance in the form of housing and land loans and infrastructure subsidies. The second is the use of a savings group as a crucial catalytic force. These were employed to link people together and to support them to work and think collectively. Boonyabancha emphasizes that the main focus of the savings group was not for financial discipline *per se*, but to instill a discipline for freedom. This statement is consistent with what Jitnirat (1995) was concerned with – whether the saving groups are employed as a means or an end. "Once they [the poor] know how to manage the powerful tool which is finance, they can manage anything – whether it's upgrading or welfare or income generation or housing" (Boonyabancha, 2005: 46). The process should be dynamic and the communities should not form saving groups merely to wait for the day they will cash in their savings to buy land and build a house.

Third, collective decision making and acting collectively in land, finance, management and welfare matters is key. Everyone, including the poorest in the community has to be included in these processes. The community size of *Baan Mankong* projects is usually small, in the range of 50-100 households. This is because most community groups find their small number comfortable – although they feel big enough to exert group power and influence, they

feel small enough to work together effectively. Additionally, the people do not have to wait too long before gathering enough members to join the programme.

Fourth, horizontal information exchange amongst poor communities is important and information on such activities as project visits, workshops and inaugurations needs to be accessible. Pilot projects are closely linked to self-empowerment for the poor because tangible changes are what the poor need to see.

> "And because it is their peers doing the work, other urban poor communities can really believe that if they can do it, so can we… In many cases, communities decide to begin with the upgrading of a community that they consider is "achievable"… and by achieving this, they learn. So this first implementation becomes the 'university'" (Boonyabancha, 2005: 36-38)

Her statement implies a reflection on reflection-in-action through which there is a constant learning process. In other words, lessons-learned from a finished project are employed to improve other projects.

Fifth, *Baan Mankong* provides technical support by involving community architects, planners, architectural schools and design students to assist communities in developing their new settlement plans. Therefore, participatory design skills are important. These skills are not nurtured in conventional architectural schools. CODI and CASE architects mainly learned from *ad hoc* practice. Their participatory design skills are illustrated in Chapter 8.

5.2 Architectural Practice and Education

In relation to mainstream architectural practice, the economic boom of the previous phase set the stage for the mutual reinforcement of architectural practice and education, and capitalist development. Construction enterprises were booming. Many architectural companies extended their responsibilities to include construction management. Many architects transformed themselves into project developers. A lot of the debates among architects in this phase focussed on entrepreneurship and business knowledge and the skills of architects (Tiptus, 1996; 1999). Critics said that many architects worked too quickly and submitted finished products with inferior quality, inadequate concern for the climate and a narrow focus on western architectural styles. At the same time, the architectural profession received more recognition from the government and the private sector, yet not much by urban poor community members. The price of land was high and there were many high-rise

buildings. Offices, hotels, condominiums, apartments, government buildings and real estate housing projects were built extensively in this phase (Tiptus, 1999).

The post-modern architectural movement in this phase focused mainly on pluralistic 'styles' dependent on the demands of the market. Western styles from international magazines played an influential role in architectural practice and students' work. Therefore, many architects copied these western styles to make buildings attractive to the real estate market. The majority of the middle class clients who were not deeply rooted in Thai culture also admired the nostalgic looks of western societies, especially from Europe. Elements of classical architecture were used in architectural design to elevate the social status of the house owners. This has been submitted as the trend of 'self-misunderstanding' (Horayangkura et al., 1993b).

Focusing on alternative architectural practice, the emergence of UCDO, CODI and *Baan Mankong* programme informally formed the 'new architectural professionalism' in practice. Architects working for the CODI can be categorized into two main groups – first, the CODI architects who are hired directly by the CODI and, second, architects from the the Community Architects for Shelter and Environment (CASE) who often sub-contract many community development projects from the CODI. As mentioned, both the CODI and the CASE architects try to integrate participation and empowerment in their design process, without being trained to work in such an approach.

CODI had just newly formalized its architect department when this research fieldwork was conducted in 2007. Prior to this, CODI contracted freelance architects on a short-term basis to work on their community development projects. All CODI architects were working on the *Baan Mankong Programme* projects across Thailand. Boonyabancha stated that there was a lack of sensitivity and experienced community architects to support the *Baan Mankong Programme*.

> "Many young architects find the realities in these communities too complicated, too messy, too demanding for them. While a few well-known architects are happy to be involved with one or two prominent projects [such as Suan Phlu community], they cannot be persuaded to work for more… We need architects who can be like doctors in a battlefield, who can do their doctoring in these rough conditions, without all the perfect, sterile conditions and controlled atmosphere of the hospital operating rooms, with all the support staff." (Boonyabancha, 2005: 40)

With respect to the challenge of the professional-client relationship between the architects and the poor, she noted that many times urban poor community members felt

obliged to accept whatever community architects proposed, even though it was an inappropriate design. Her statement argues for the reflective practice of community architects who would encourage genuine dialogue in a participatory design process.

In relation to CASE architects who had also worked for the CODI, the group was informally established as a 'club' in 1997. CASE was considered to be the first group of 'community architects' in Thailand who worked with informal settlements throughout the country. It then later registered as a private architectural company in 2004. CASE members are architects – practitioners and academics – who work closely with the CODI and independent social workers and NGOs. They receive financial support for their projects from a variety of sources – mainly the CODI and sometimes the Crown Property Bureau and international aid agencies. CASE architects also design houses for middle-class people in order to cross-subsidize their community work for the poor. Interviews from the research's fieldwork show that financial concerns were one of the challenges CASE encountered. At the time of the research, there were nine architects working on slum upgrading projects, including the *Baan Mankong Programme* across Thailand. Compared to the CODI as an organization, the CASE is much smaller and is a civil-society body.

CASE architects believe that the community members, not outsiders, who know best what their problems. In a community development project, contributions should come from the community members as well as the architects. CASE architects claim that they do not directly tell the poor communities what to do, but ask questions so the people can better understand themselves and their situation. They believe in strategic small changes that could spontaneously lead to scaled-up changes. The founder of CASE, Roonrakwit, stated that a CASE architect's work was finished when design proposals and development plans were finished, because after that community members should continue the work by themselves.

Interviews from the fieldwork showed in most instances CASE architects spent more time during the design programming phase in a community than CODI architects because they did not have to deal with as many projects as CODI architects. Many CASE projects are employed as pioneer or pilot projects for CODI programmes. Time spent in projects conducted by CASE architects ranged from a few months to a few years.

In relation to alternative architectural education, CASE also occasionally organizes educational architectural workshops in collaboration with Architecture Sans Frontieres (ASF) UK and the Association of Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage (ASA). The workshops allow international and Thai architectural students to work with poor urban communities in Thailand. The workshops run on a voluntary basis and involve interested students who do not necessarily have to be officially accredited by any university.

It is important to emphasize that the emergence of the *ad hoc* practice of the new architectural professionalism of CODI and CASE architects did not have any impact on the mainstream conventional architectural education. The contribution of this research is to help to shape an alternative architectural education, based on reflections on the practice of CODI and CASE architects. There are approximately 16 architectural schools in Thailand, but only a few courses or modules address the issues of low-income community, informal settlements and participatory design in their classes. The few architectural lecturers who did work with the CODI, although they mostly lacked expertise on the issue, did learn important lessons from the field. Many times these lecturers would bring their students to work on the CODI projects even though in some cases the work was done without being officially accredited by their schools. At present, there are a few examples of architectural schools that have tried to integrate slum problems into their curricula. The first example is the newly launched Master in Architecture Course on Community and Environmental Architecture at the Arsom Silp Institution of the Arts and Development. The second is the Faculty of Architecture Urban Design and Creative Arts, Mahasarakham University (MSU) in the North-eastern region of Thailand. The third is the Faculty of Architecture, Sripatum University (SPU) in Bangkok. They all faced different kinds of obstacles and challenges. This is discussed in Chapter 9.

After the substantial economic crisis in 1997, architectural practice in Thailand experienced a pause. During the economic boom, there were more than 200 architectural companies working. Nowadays, there are 68 companies (Chompunich, 2006). Many academic resources (Horayangkura, 1997b, Tiptus, 1999, Sthapitanonda, 2000) argue that the crisis brought a great opportunity for architectural practice and education to reflect on and plan for the future. For example, Horayangkura (1997b) notes that because of the economic booms, much of the architecture built was limited by time constraints and the architects were induced to focus on quantity more than quality. There was little new architectural knowledge generated from local and vernacular wisdom which is appropriate to the Thai context.

In relation to architectural values, Horayangkura went on to suggest that architects are often perceived as egotistical artists, so the public exclude them from social activities. Moreover, he said that there are too many architectural schools producing too many similar designer-type architects. That is why the more architects the architectural schools produce, the less adequate architects the industry receives. He argued that it is crucial to have various types of specialist architects. He proposed that architectural education had to be problem-oriented, not solution-oriented. Today, architectural education inherited the Ecole des Beaux Arts and Bauhaus teaching methods, of which the ‘masters’ or the studio tutors are the leaders in a design studio. Thus, normative theories from the masters were prioritized over the scientific method (Horayangkura, 1997a, Horayangkura, 1994).

There is very little systematic research on architectural education to improve architectural pedagogy. Based on a piece of research concerning architectural education development conducted by Horayangkura et al. (1993a) and Worawan (1984), a proposal was made to abolish design studio methods because the tutors had too much influence over the students. Additionally, they argued that design studio consumed too much time from other subjects. The method also isolated academic theoretical teaching which was conducted in a classroom separate from the design studio. Thus, the students were not able to synthesise and integrate other knowledge into their design. Moreover, they went on to argue that architectural education in Thailand was characterised by spoon-fed education with students passively waiting to be taught. It was argued that an architectural tutor's role should be as a stimulator, not a master. Architectural design 'crit' should encompass less emotional aggravation. Design studio and architectural thesis should focus on budget and small-scale designs. Worawan referred to Donald Schon when positing that design (in a design studio) is a dialogue that emerges from collective conversations between architectural students and the tutors. He argued that the tutors should raise questions rather than provide or expect answers. It was argued by various sources (Horayangkura, 2000, Tiptus, 1996, Sthapitanonda, 2000, Yuangtrakul, 2000, Bongsadedt, 2000, Worawan, 1984) that architectural curriculum should allow more plurality in its content and more emphasis on learning from live projects, learning from doing, cross-institutional architectural workshops facilitating teamwork skills and architectural training in architectural education should be more encouraged.

As illustrated in Table 5-5, the architectural curriculum in Thailand is determined by the Architect Council of Thailand (ACT). There are two main approaches to architectural education. The first requires five years to complete a bachelor's degree and the second requires four years with an additional two years for a master's degree with a specialization. Most of the architectural schools employ the first method. Thammasart University is the only school that uses the second method. With respect to the four plus two additional years programme, it is claimed that, first, adequate knowledge can hardly be gained in a five-year programme because there are too many subjects the students have to study already. Second, there are many graduates who do not work as designer-architects, thus, the school should save time by reducing the basic requirements for architectural design foundation from five to four years. Third, there should be more alternatives in architectural education. The students should be trained to have more specializations which they choose by themselves. This could be done in the last two years of the programme (Horayangkura, 1997a).

Table 5-5: The minimum credit of the architectural curriculum of a bachelor degree programme in Thailand set by ACT

No.	Subjects	Credits	
		Four-year	Five-year
1	Design	36	45
2	Fundamental modules: architectural history, architectural communication and architectural drawings	8	10
3	Technology modules: construction, materials, building facilities and building technology	16	20
4	Supporting modules: architectural professionalism, project management, building laws and regulations and other relevant subjects such as environmental psychology and computer aid design and feasibility study	16	20
	Total	46	95

In addition to the number of credits set by the ACT, the Ministry of Education also requires 30 credits for General Studies for both programmes. It also states that the overall 120 credits are a minimum for the four-year bachelor's degree and that an overall 150 credits are the minimum for the five-year bachelor's degree. What the ACT and the Ministry of Education require is just the minimum, each architectural school is responsible for designing the content of their own curriculum and to determine the number of compulsory credits of their courses to fit the framework[6]. To officially practice as an architect today, one needs a license.[7] To obtain a licence to practice, architects in Thailand have to pass exams set by the ACT. Thus, what the ACT values in its curriculum outline is very influential in architectural schools.

Architects' roles in Thailand today address only three sectors – the commercial private sector, the governmental sector and the educational sector (Chompunich, 2006). Communities are not considered as part of official architectural practices. Horayangkura (2000) stated that there are three types of architects today who are inadequate. The first are architects who do not focus on 'design' but have the ability to work on construction management and facility management. The second are specialist architects who could be project consultants. The new architectural professionalism of CODI and CASE architects fills the third gap which Horayangkura argued for – architects who work for the lower stratum of society. This refers to poor people in rural and urban areas. This is consistent with Chompunich's data (2006) which shows that there are 10,235 officially registered architects

[6] For the two architectural schools that were chosen for this research, a student in the bachelor of architecture program at Chulalongkorn University has to pass a minimum of 177 credits. A student in the bachelor of architecture program at Silpakorn University has to pass a minimum of 170 credits.

[7] There are two building types which do not require a licensed architect to design and approve – residential units which have a 'Usable Floor Area' of less than 150 square metres etc. and agricultural buildings which have a functional space less than 400 square metres. There are three levels of professional practice with different limitations and regulations. There are four official licensed architectural disciplines – architecture, urban planning and urban design, landscape and interior design.

and more than 80% of them work in Bangkok. For the minority of architects who work in regional areas, most of them work in urbanized and commercial areas.

Finally, at the policy level, one of the challenges to integrating subjects relating to informal settlements into architectural education is that the government has started a plan to reduce subsidies in education. Not only could this make universities more of 'a day care centre for middle-class children,' (Horayangkura, 2000) but it also forces universities to concentrate on the educational demands of the markets and money-making courses.

6. Thai Architectural Educational Reform Needs to Address Slum Housing Issues

It is clear that the scale of the slum problem in Thailand is serious and large. As mentioned in Chapter 2, housing policies in Thailand parallel global housing policies. The relationship of the state, government and civil society respectively changed throughout time from the state-led, people-led, market-led approaches to a greater emphasis on partnership between the three main actors. The establishment of the NHA, UCDO, CODI and CASE reflect these different housing policy processes in different time periods.

'Architecture of empowerment' as defined by Serageldin (1997) was introduced and implemented in Thailand through the practice of CODI and CASE architects, especially under the launch of the CODI *Baan Mankong* programme. The political will of the Thai Government is key to addressing slum upgrading at scale. Scaling-up, scaling-out and institutional reform are all evident in the *Baan Mankong* programme. However, in practice, there are a number of obstacles. These are discussed in the next chapters.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that although the 'new architectural professionalism' of CODI and CASE architects was being applied, the mainstream conventional architectural education remains intact. CODI and CASE architects did not bring much from their time in architectural school. They mainly learned from practice in an *ad hoc* manner. Therefore, reflection on practice of CODI and CASE architects could be useful for shaping the new architectural professionalism. Reflective practice is argued, although in a vague way, as an important element in the new architectural pedagogy. However, no literature addresses or defines the code of conduct of either – the new architectural professionalism or the alternative architectural education. This research aims to fill the gaps. Thus, Chapters 6-8 explore the challenges of the 'new architectural professionalism' – in terms of the comparative development of new values, knowledge and skills of CODI and CASE architects. Chapter 9 addresses the barriers and challenges of the integration of alternative architectural education in the mainstream.

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Chapter 6: Uncovering Values: Comparative Views of Architects and Reflections from Affected Communities

1. Introduction

This chapter looks at the findings from the fieldwork which might shed light on the emerging values underlying the new architectural 'professionalism.' As a form of reflection on practice (Schon, 1983; Argyris et al., 1985), the chapter explores and compares the different values of conventional NHA architects, who normally design 'for' the urban poor, with the new professionalism of CODI and CASE architects, who design 'with' the urban poor. The espoused theory and theory-in-use of NHA, CODI and CASE architects are compared at individual and organizational levels to explore the congruence of their theory in action and to examine their different roles. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the values of different types of architects are different. The view on participation and empowerment is one of the distinguishing aspects of their roles. In the absence of valuing participation and empowerment, the architect's role is merely that of a provider of design services for the poor clients. When participation and empowerment are proposed, this calls for different values of architects in the role of supporter and/or catalysts. This research argues that architects acting as supporters tend to focus on employing participation as a means for project efficiency and effectiveness and local capacity building in which architect are facilitators in participatory design process. Architects who acting as catalysts focus on using participation as an end or for the community empowerment which relates greatly to Freire's (1972) definition of 'true education' in which architects encourage people to believe in themselves, to act collectively for themselves and to reflect on their actions.

Values and knowledge are interrelated. In other words, 'problem's setting' which is determined by values, implies a certain approach to problem solving which reflects the use of knowledge. Moreover, the nature of the professional-client relationship also reflects the architect's values. This chapter assesses four themes which reflect the different values of the study populations:

- Perception of 'slums' amongst the NHA, CODI and CASE architects in order to explore whether they perceive 'slums' as 'problems' or 'opportunities' – 'slums of hope' or 'slums of despair?'
- Perception of 'participation' amongst the architects and their clients: what is and why do they (or do they not) value 'participation'? It also explores their perceptions on the ends and means of participation in practice and the challenges of scaling up.
- Perception of NHA, CODI and CASE architects on their roles as architects.

- A comparative view of NHA, CODI and CASE architects' approach to social learning.

The analysis of this section draws on semi-structured interviews and photo analysis with the NHA, CODI and CASE architects and additionally on semi-structured interviews with their clients and selected housing experts. It is important to note that the CODI and CASE architects are analyzed together as they share many similar values. At the same time, the differences in their organizational values are highlighted. The researcher explores the architects' espoused theory or the theory underpinning the architect's role they claim through their expressions in the photo analysis session. For the theory-in-use or the theory underpinning their role in practice, the researcher uses findings from the semi-structured interviews which asked the architects directly about their roles in practice focusing, particularly on the projects they were currently working on.

It is useful to summarise the selected housing projects. Thus, Table 6-1 describes the housing projects from which the client study population was selected for interviews.

Table 6-1: The selected housing project

Projects	Housing Schemes	Funded Organizations	Architects
1. Baan Eua Arthorn: Rangsit Klong 3 Community (NHAPJ)	*Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme	NHA	NHA
2. Baan Mankong Klong Lumnoon Community (CODIPJ01)	*Baan Mankong* Programme	CODI	CODI
3. Baan Mankong Suan Phlu Pattana Community (CODIPJ02)	*Baan Mankong* Programme	CODI	CODI
4. Arkarn Songkhroa Community (CASEPJ)	A pioneer of *Baan Mankong* Programme	NHA and CODI	CASE

2. Conventional and 'Alternative' Roles of Architects

All NHA, CODI and CASE architects agreed that there are not enough architects working either 'for' or working 'with' the urban poor in Thailand. They said that the architectural profession has merely served the elite and the powerful.

> "There are two types of architects. The first one is the high artist. The second is the commercial architect. Neither of them is interested to deal with the urban poor." [NHA09]

There are different inspirations for architects choosing to practice in conventional commercial or alternative architectural practice designing for/with the poor. The research findings show that 5 out of 10 NHA architects were not interested in working for the urban poor when they applied for a job at the NHA. Their reasons for working at the NHA included job security, preference for the nature of inactive 'governmental work', and the short distance to the NHA from their home. On the contrary, 9 out of 11 CODI and 6 out of 7 CASE architects were interested in the different ways to deal with the poor when applying for their jobs. Their reasons for working with the urban poor are diverse. For example, three CODI and four CASE architects applied for the job because the work looked 'fun' and more challenging than work in commercial architectural offices. Two CODI and one CASE architects applied because they were interested in vernacular architecture and community development. Two CASE architects applied because they wanted to do something 'good' for others and the society, while two other CODI architects did so because they studied or were interested in urban planning/design. Although NHA, CODI and CASE architects were interested in working for their organizations for different reasons, the research findings showed that their perception of the contribution of 'architecture' is synchronized. Most of them agreed that architecture could improve the quality of life of community members, but that architecture alone was not enough.

It is important to note that 4 out of 11 CODI architects became interested in the work because they had worked as trainees at the CODI as part of their architectural education. Furthermore, two CODI architects had volunteered for CODI post-tsunami reconstruction projects before deciding to work for the CODI. This presents some implications for alternative architectural education, which is discussed further in Chapter 9.

3. Public Architects: NHA Architects

3.1 The Individual Architect's Values versus Organizational Values: 'Slums of Hope' or 'Slums of Despair'?

From the semi-structured interviews and the photo analysis conducted by this research, it is clear that the NHA architects and the CODI and CASE architects have different perceptions of the urban poor's informal livelihoods and slums in the city. Six out of seven NHA architects perceived 'slums' mainly as problems or as a negative phenomenon – 'slums of despair', which needs to be improved or controlled. Only one NHA architect perceived slums as a positive phenomenon. The negative perceptions they have are divided into two reactions. The first is feeling 'sorry' for the urban poor and wanting to 'help'. The second is feeling 'provoked' and wanting to 'get rid of the mess'.

The following is a selected sample of comments made by the NHA architects who felt 'sorry' for the existence of the urban poor's informal livelihoods and slums in the city:

> "I feel bad for them. They should have stayed in their rural hometowns. To migrate here for work forced them to live in such a place – a slum, and that created many other problems in urban areas." [NHA01]

> "This is depressing...I think we forgot them and we did not take care of them well enough. [NHA03]

An example of the NHA architects who felt 'provoked' by the existence of the urban poor's informal livelihoods and slums in the city are as follows:

> "From the photos, it is so clear that Thai people are so selfish, immoral, lack education and discipline. Their informal livelihoods [street hawkers] and their houses [slums] invade and take advantage of public space…This is illegal. It is physically and socially bad. I wish we could clean-up Thailand and plan the whole thing new. [NHA06]

With reference to the discussion in Chapter 2, NHA architects' values about poor urban communities are relatively similar to the international public architects who worked for the state as providers of low-cost housing solutions under conventional housing policy and who perceived the poor as a homogeneous group of passive recipients. Furthermore, it is clear from the interviews and the photo analysis, that the NHA architects were not familiar with how people in slums live.

Only one NHA architect had a different opinion. He perceived the urban poor's informal livelihoods as a 'necessity' and as representing the 'liveliness' of a big city; and he saw houses in slums as 'well-designed architecture'.

> "Their informal livelihoods may make the city look unorganized, but they are the reality of the city and the core of Thai society. The good thing is that everybody is working hard. No one is a thief or a beggar. All the middle class officers in the city need them. Without them, where can you find a cheap good grilled chicken with sticky rice[1]? Who will fix your shoes?… Their houses also look charming. Their houses respond to their needs perfectly…It is just the materials and the fact that they cannot afford to buy good quality ones." [NHA05]

[1] Grilled chicken with sticky rice is a popular and typical street food menu. It comes from the North-eastern region of Thailand, where most of the population is relative poorer than the populations of other regions.

His statements acknowledging 'slum of hope' reflect a belief in the urban poor's capacity. He went on to say that the urban poor do not need much help and their lives did not need dramatic change. What they needed was a little support. Not surprisingly, this architect strongly and negatively criticized the policy of the NHA during the interview, especially the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme.

> "*Baan Eua Arthorn Programme* is a big mistake. Many of my colleagues do not dare say what they really think. People who think differently will be marked as stubborn and will not get promoted to other more influential job positions." [NHA05]

His statement is more similar to those of CODI and CASE architects than his NHA colleagues. It is important to note that his perception of slums as a positive phenomenon did not influence his work. He abides by NHA policy even though he does not agree with it. In other words, although he personally believes in the capacity and potential of slum dwellers, his theory-in-use remains similar to those of provider public architect under Conventional Housing Policy.

At the same time, the negative perception of the other NHA architects towards slums remains unchallenged. However, the feelings of uneasiness about NHA's organizational policy are shared among most NHA architects, and became clearer when NHA architects were asked what they thought of 'participation'. This issue is discussed in the next sub-section.

During the photo analysis, the researcher noticed that three NHA architects expressed a more positive perception of slum dwellers and slum houses when they saw 'design-quality' and various expressions of 'identity'.

> "This set of photos [informal materials and construction used] does not look like garbage anymore because the urban poor started to decorate their houses. They played with colours and the patterns of different materials. They even thought about natural ventilation in the kitchen. They efficiently used space under the staircases for storage. It looks more hopeful." [NHA07]

'Beauty' and 'aesthetics' are important issues in architectural education and practice. It is relevant, but possibly incorrect, to conclude that architects will perceive slums as positive or places of 'hope' if they see 'beauty' in them. Because architects who perceive slums as negative tend to fail to recognize 'beauty' or 'aesthetics' in slums in the first place, it is difficult to say what is the cause or the effect, but the two factors are related. In conclusion, although

the positive views are very limited, there are two types of 'beauty' which NHA architects mention in regard to slums. The first is beauty from creativity and 'realism' – building houses under limited conditions to serve their basic needs. The other is their creativity reflected in house decorations – moving beyond basic needs to a surplus in life and expressing their identity and personality.

One NHA architect, who viewed slums negatively, made fun of some scholars or practitioners whom he thought would be able to say positive things about slums. His statement has a clear tone of irony:

> "What beautiful architecture [houses in slums]! How creative is that! Although the urban poor did not go to architectural schools, they could design their house beautifully using recycled materials! I was joking. I mean, I could see that the urban poor tried hard to make their houses as livable as possible with what they have, using scrap and cheap materials... they may think it is so beautiful, and they can do it better than any architect, but their houses still look like garbage to me. If they had more money, I am so sure that they would not want to live there or live like that. [NHA06]

He also pointed to the romanticism in the academic world:

> "I am sure that many researchers and scholars could say a lot of good things about this garbage. They could turn negativity into positivity. They would mention flexibility in design and small space used… etc. I think they are superficial and not very honest. It is like you [the researcher] went there just to take these photos. You should sleep there for a night… Do the people want to stay there? Do they want to live like that, if they have more money? No way." [NHA06]

His reflection is important for the researcher and the practice of CODI and CASE architects. It is dangerous to fall into a romanticized trap leading to a *laisser faire* professional attitude which will result in the encouragement of the *status quo*, or even the exploitation of slums merely as another inspiration for vernacular architecture. This is not very much different from paternalistic modernist architects, such as Le Corbusier, as mentioned earlier. The NHA06 architect's statement is supported by five out of five clients of the *Baan Eua Arthorn: Rangsit Klong 3 Community* (NHAPJ), who had lived in slums before moving to the NHAPJ. They all agreed that their life with the new concrete NHA houses is now 'better' – physically and psychologically – than when they were living in slums. This does not mean that the NHA *Baan Eua Arthorn* schemes did not have any problems or challenges.

3.2 Individual Architect's Values Related to 'Participation'

The research findings also show a contradiction between organizational values and the individual values of NHA architects toward 'participation.' Although most NHA architects perceived slums negatively and NHA policy does not encourage 'participation', 8 out of 10 NHA architects stated that 'participation' was a 'good' idea. One NHA architect had never heard of participatory design before. The other said 'participation' was a mere romanticized idea and referred to it as an organizational lesson-learned from the practice of site-and-services programmes which the NHA implemented decades ago and failed.

Four out of eight NHA architects who agreed that 'participation' was a 'good' idea acknowledged many disadvantages of 'participation'. One of these architects said 'participation' was necessary but only so architects could better understand the functional requirements of the urban poor and, therefore, improve their design for the urban poor. This can be seen as being equivalent to a 'consultation' in Arnstein's ladder of participation or 'information giving' in a one-way communication basis on UNDP's levels of community participation. The interviewees' responses reflected a strong belief in the architect's expert role:

> "Participation is necessary because we need to know about the urban poor's livelihoods and their tools and how they live. However, it is the architect's job to know better, because we are the ones who went to architectural schools. What the architect should do is to design many alternatives and explain them to the clients. That is all." [NHA08]

Three of the eight NHA architects pointed out that the client's participation in the design and building process would lead to more effective outcomes. However, it is a time consuming process and it is impossible to address the scale of the problems of slums.

In conclusion, the interviews showed that the majority of NHA architects believed in and valued 'participation.' However, they used the word 'participation' in a very theoretical way and an idealistic tone and none of them clearly explained how to practice it. NHA architects' theory-in-use excludes an understanding of participation as a means of capacity building or as an end for community empowerment. The meaning of 'participation' for NHA architects has three positive dimensions and all are related to its use as a means for design efficiency and effectiveness. The first dimension relates to creating a better sense of belonging for the clients. The second dimension relates to gaining a better understanding of the urban poor's lifestyle so that the architects can improve their designs. Third, 'participation' means the freedom of the urban poor to choose to buy (or not to buy) the prototype houses of

the *Baan Eua Arthorn Programme*. It is important to note that, from this research's interviews, CODI and CASE architects do not consider NHA architects' third definition as 'participation'.

3.3 Architect's Values Related to their Roles

The research findings show differences between NHA architects' espoused theories and theories-in-use. During the interviews, in response to questions about their role related to the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme, all 13 NHA architects interviewed mentioned their role as providers. The words they used describe their roles as to 'provide; 'manage' and 'control'. What they do in everyday practice is to design standardized basic infrastructure and houses according to the Terms of Reference (TOR) set by the NHA. However, during the photo analysis session in which the discussion was not directly related to the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme, the verbal expressions of their roles were different. From the photo analysis session, two out of seven NHA architects mentioned their espoused theory related to the architect's role as provider; three out of seven mentioned their roles as provider and supporter; one out of seven mentioned their role as supporter; and one out of seven mentioned their role as catalyst. (Please see Figure 6-1 for a summary)

In total, during the photo analysis session, although five out of seven NHA architects mentioned the role of architects as providers of a better standard of house design, built-environment and infrastructure, utilizing low-cost construction technology and materials, the same number – five out of seven – of NHA architects mentioned their role as supporters. The words they used to describe this role are 'support', 'facilitate', 'coach' and 'suggest'. For them, what architects should do is to suggest and educate the urban poor about basic design, health, hygiene and safety. One NHA architect suggested that architects should learn from slums – study their basic needs, use of space, construction and materials - in an attempt to make their designs more effective and to realize that the urban poor can manage a lot by themselves. The urban poor needed support on infrastructure and suggestions on design relating to the issues of health and safety, not a radical change.

Only one out of seven NHA architects mentioned the role of catalyst. The words for the role of catalyst are 'catalyse', 'encourage' and 'question'.

> "As an outsider, we [architects] see something positive which the locals do not see, because sometimes things seem to be too banal for them. Our role is to encourage them to see that what they already have is valuable. It is about raising their awareness." (NHA07)

One NHA architect criticized NHA organizational policy versus the roles of architects:

> "The community members should be the ones who initiate the development project and come to us [NHA architects] for support like they go to CODI architects in the *Baan Mankong* Programme. It is not that NHA architects are not knowledgeable on how to support them. It is just that our role has not been written in such a way. It is all about organizational policy." (NHA03)

In addition, five out of seven NHA architects said that governmental policy and practitioners from other disciplines were important, because slum problems were too complex for architects to solve alone.

3.4 Reflections from NHA Clients

The interviews with the NHA clients of *Baan Eua Arthorn: Rangsit Klong 3 Community* (NHAPJ) show that there is little contradiction between the NHA clients' views on 'participation' in their housing and NHA organizational policy. All the interviewed clients chose to buy a house from the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme. None of them were interested in being a part of the *Baan Mankong* Programme. Two out of twelve NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients[2] had never heard about the *Baan Mankong* Programme. The rest knew very little about it. Six out of twelve NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients thought participation had positive sides but were clearly skeptical about a participatory approach in housing due to its uncertainty, unpredictability and complicated process.

> "This *(Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme*)* is better. I can clearly see what the house looks like. Some *Baan Mankong* projects fail. I just do not want to waste my time. Participation may mean the process will try to engage the community members more, but will they [NHA architects and other community members] really listen to my ideas? To have a ready-made plan is better, so we do not have to argue. More people mean more troubles." (NHAPJ01)

Four out of twelve NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients showed their awareness of their policy entitlement.

> "It is clearer what you will get from the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme than from the *Baan Mankong* Programme. If we had to design the houses by ourselves together,

[2] Two out of total fourteen NHAPJ clients were not asked the question why they did chose not to participate in *Baan Mankong* Programme, because of the limitation of time.

we would just keep arguing. If the government wanted to help us, they better give us a completely finished one." (NHAPJ08)

In conclusion, the research findings show some contradictions in the values related to 'participation' between NHA architects versus NHA policy and between NHA architects and the expectation of NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients. Although 8 out of 10 NHA architects agreed that 'participation' is a 'good' idea, all NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients share the same view expressed in NHA organizational policy. The only minor difference between NHA organizational values and the clients' approach is that the NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients would like to reduce their participation level. For example, 7 out of 14 NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients said that the NHA should provide more assistance by providing a bigger and more completed house, including a kitchen designed to be built by themselves. One of them suggested that NHA should not mind losing its capital and profit because it is a governmental organization.

However, this does not mean that all NHA clients are completely satisfied with the house and the programme. In fact, there are many problems and complaints. Because there was no participatory design process in the project, most NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients misunderstood the housing design, building and community regulations. This issue is discussed in further detail when considering the design effectiveness of the NHA architects in the next chapter.

4. Community Architects: CODI and CASE Architects

4.1 Individual Architect's Values versus Organizational Values: 'Slums of Hope' or 'Slums of Despair'?

Unlike NHA architects, the statements by CODI and CASE architects reflect positive and relatively romanticized perceptions of slums. Both CODI and CASE architects are apparently more familiar with the images of slums and slum dwellers than the NHA architects. CODI and CASE architects' verbal expressions were quite similar. Many architects repeated the same words and slogans, thus, it appears that their organization's values have greatly influenced their perceptions of the urban poor. For both groups of architects, their espoused theory and theory-in-use are similar, since their individual values and organization's values are synchronized. The most common expression was a positive acceptance of the existence of the urban poor's informal livelihoods and slums as a necessity and a reality in a big city, and that other people in the city benefitted from the existence of the urban poor. Most CODI and CASE architects admired the urban poor's survival and how they do their best to struggle in the city. Moreover, many of them stated that a slum had its 'charm'.

> "These [the photos of informal livelihoods] are normal and it is the everyday reality of our city. They earn their living… Slums also make big cities charming. Where do you get your lunch? Is it not from them?" [CODI02]

> "I think the photos [of informal livelihoods and slums] look beautiful…They show their ways of life, community lifestyle and vernacular living. Other people may think it looks messy or ugly, but I think it is real, lively, natural and beautiful." [CODI04]

During the photo analysis session, five out of five CODI architects who mentioned many positive attributes of slums, then pointed to some disadvantages or made suggestions for improvement. From the interviews, all 11 CODI architects accepted that slums could be managed better – land security, hygiene, quality of life, sanitation, social and physical improvement. It is important to note that words, such as, 'security of land tenure' and 'social development' came up often in interviews with CODI architects. This is possibly because the *Baan Munkong* programme deals very much with these two issues. In comparison with the NHA architects, CODI architects were more aware of the everyday struggles of the urban poor. They realized that one of the main problems of the urban poor was the lack of security, and that the improvement to the physical environment alone was not enough. In comparison with CASE architects, they seemed to look at challenges posed by slums at a more macro scale.

> "Governmental policy, laws, urban planning, urban zoning and the establishment of networks amongst poor communities, professional and educational institutions and local authorities are the keys to solve slum problems." (CODI01)

By contrast, CASE architects' statements showed more positive and more romanticized perceptions of slums than CODI architects. In the photo analysis, five out of five CASE architects mentioned many positive things with long and in-depth explanations, and then pointed out a few suggestions for improvement. They clearly saw 'opportunities' and useful 'information' in the photos. The words which were often mentioned included 'this is really cool', 'I like this', 'this is very beautiful', 'this is very creative', 'I like its colours and lines' and 'this is such an interesting way of problem solving'. Their perceptions focus more on the artistic sides of slums than CODI architects, who, as mentioned, tend to think of solving the issue at a macro level.

> "People have more potential than the state can control … Not only do the people have the potential to take care of themselves, but they also have the potential to be

architects. You can see architecture, art and life in slums. It has everything." [CASE01]

"I don't see slums as problems at all. You can read everything in terms of their thoughtful space-use and the way materials reflect space and time – it tells what the available and affordable materials and construction locally are at the time… This is also very 'Thai'. We try so hard to design our city to look beautiful like other cities [westerners] and forget what we already have. It needs just a little polishing… How can one call it a poor condition of living, if it responds to their needs?" (CASE03)

However, the CASE founder (CASE03) mentioned that there was a thin line between being romantic and realistic. She suggested a way to move beyond the dichotomy of the two poles in practice by catalysing a positive change based on existing potentials and opportunities.

"Although I think these (photos of slums) are beautiful, they can be improved for the better. We say it is cool, they [the urban poor] may not agree with us. If they have more money, they will change it. They do not see this as 'beauty'. We look at their house from a different angle; an angle they have hardly ever looked from. We and they think differently. They do things simply to survive. The point is that, I think, they just lack encouragement to make a change based on what they already have and our role is to catalyse that." (CASE03)

From the photo analysis, compared to CODI architects, CASE architects expressed their feelings on what they saw in the photo analysis and positively accepted the existence of the urban poor. They also related what they saw to a possible design programme. They tried to find or read 'information' in the photos. This relates to their observation skills, which is discussed in Chapter 8. For example, they tried to see what could be a shared problem of the community or what could be an issue to experiment with (as a small pilot project) with the community. This attitude probably comes from their approach to their work as catalysts with the urban poor.

"Where is the market? How do they transport their goods there? Where are their trolleys? ... I asked these questions because their livelihoods shape the space they need in their house. To know about their livelihoods is crucial to a design. It is another form of information we need…" [CASE06]

This particular reaction was probably the result of CASE training in which they are trained by the CASE founder to 'read' and 'analyze' the physical environment they see. According to the

interview with the CASE founder, to ask questions about what they see is the first step of the process of analysis.

Moreover, the research findings reflect a transformation of CODI and CASE architects' values related the urban poor.

> "Before I started working here, I thought that because I was trained as an architect I could design better than the community members. I thought I knew what was appropriate for the people more than they did. After working for a while I changed my mind. Maybe I do not know anything at all… how the people live and what they like." (CODI03)

On the other hand, CASE04 mentioned that before working, he had a completely romantic perception of the people.

> "The practice taught me that the urban poor are just human. In a community, there are nice, honest and selfish people. In one person, he or she also has both positive and negative sides." (CASE04)

The statements reflect CODI and CASE architects' reflective practice. What they learn from practice in turn reshape their values. Finally, five out of the five architects from both CODI and CASE, respectively, used the words 'beauty' and 'creative' in relation to many of the slum photos. As with NHA architects, there were two types of 'beauty' that most CODI and CASE architects associated with the slums. The first is the 'beauty' linked to the creativity found in slum architecture and to the 'realism' reflected in the basic-needs designs. The other is the 'beauty' of creativity in the 'decorations' related to expressions of identity. The research findings clearly shows that CODI and CASE architects' link these three words together - 'survival', 'creativity' and 'beauty'.

4.2 Individual Architect's Values related to 'Participation'

CODI and CASE architects' reasons for agreeing to less control can be divided into two categories.

- The idealistic reason: the architects said that they believed in the urban poor's capacity to manage things by themselves.
- The pragmatic reason: the architects said that they should not be too controlling because they did not know everything and because their design could be inappropriate for the urban poor's needs. Therefore, 'participation' was a means

for greater effectiveness of their design. Moreover, they could not control every detail because they simply did not have enough time.

"If the architects have to do everything, even if you have 10,000 community architects, it is not enough." (CASE02)

In total, 10 out of 11 CODI architects reflected that they employed 'participation' as a means to increase local capacity building and design effectiveness. Only 1 out of 11 CODI architects used it for empowerment.

For those CODI architects who mentioned 'participation' as a means to effectively design in response to the needs of the community members, the quotation expressed a common sentiment.

"Community members have to own the project, because they know their community better than us [architects]. Participation from them will reveal the real problems and needs. Without their participation, we will not know what the real problems are." (CODI04)

The most common implication of 'participation' which 5 out of 11 CODI architects mentioned is 'group work' and making collective decisions by a group-system and social learning. For CODI architects, group work in 'participation' was a means or a 'tool' for community building because it brought people together, strengthened bonds between community members, encouraged people to work together as a team and to find solutions through collective action and decision-making. Through group work in 'participation', community members also learned about his or her role in a community. The group work process employed by CODI architects implied local capacity building.

With respect to CASE architects, by contrast three out of seven architects mentioned employing participation as a means to local capacity building and design effectiveness; two out of seven used it for as both a means and an end; and two used it for an end or for empowerment. The architects who used 'participation' as a means stated that 'participation' helped solve the problems of a community more accurately. The CASE architects who viewed participation for empowerment said that 'participation' made the urban poor realize their situation and understand themselves better through the participatory process. The most common implications of 'participation', which five out of seven CASE architects mentioned, was a 'learning process', regardless of whether the architects emphasized 'participation' as an ends or a means in their interviews.

> "There is a learning process in every step. We know one thing. They know another. When we add it up, we both know more, and that merged knowledge will bring transformation." (CASE03)

> "The important thing is that the community members learn. Even if the solution they chose was a failure, if they understood it and learned why it failed, it is fine. They can better manage things in the future." (CASE02)

Four out of the seven CASE architects emphasized that community members were the main actors in the participatory process. Architects were one of the participants in the participatory process who also had to 'learn', and not only facilitate.

The interviews suggest that participation means dialogue between the architects and the community, as well as dialogue amongst community members themselves. This action implies 'local capacity building' through the learning process. The research findings show that the espoused theories of CASE architects are synchronized with Freire's idea of 'true education' in which participatory design facilitates the empowerment of the urban poor.

> "Genuine participatory design should make the community members realize and understand their own problems – the causes and effects – and their own rights better, so they become capable of proposing solutions and making decisions for their community. They should not wait for help from someone else." (CASE07)

Most CODI and CASE architects mentioned that they used 'participation' as a means for local capacity building and design effectiveness and as an end or for empowerment in a very interactive manner. For example, for both groups of architects, 'participation' was a helpful tool to solve a problem accurately, because the community members knew their problems better than the architects. At the same time, by participating, they learned new skills and knowledge, so they became more capable of solving their future problems better and, in the end, felt more confident about making decision by themselves in a situation which affects their lives.

Responding to the challenges of scaling up participation, both CODI and CASE architects realized the large scale of the slum problem, although they exhibited different values and ways to address it. Although all CODI architects agreed that it was important to scale up quantitatively by building as many houses as possible to address slum problems, six out of 11 CODI architects said that the policy deteriorates the quality of their practice. They could not concentrate on communities and did not have enough time to reflect and create new participatory tools and techniques.

> "I feel frustrated. The target [of trying to complete 300,000 residential units within five years of the *Baan Mankong* Programme is far too much. If we were to evaluate, we said we want quality, but we have to deal with massive quantity, so it is contradictory. What we are doing is just like what the NHA does. The only difference is that we have a catalog of 50 choices of houses to choose from, but the NHA has four." (CODI11)

All CASE architects criticized CODI policy which focuses on the quantity of the outputs, simultaneously feeling empathetic to the workload of CODI architects because of their organizational policy.

> "CODI architects get a different brief from CASE architects. They get a lot more pressure from their organizational policy, so their practice is limited. They do not spend so much time on the participatory process. What they do is to conclude things quickly and direct the results." (CASE05)

The interviews show that all CASE architects did not value a quantitative approach to scaling up. CASE – as an organization or at the level of individual architects – did not propose any strategic solution to scaling up except to emphasize the act of catalyzing small changes. Four out of four CASE architects were skeptical and realistic about the possibility and efficiency of the idea of scaling up:

> "When I am working, I do think about scaling up, but I do not expect so much from it, because there are so many other factors. If it can happen, I am happy, because it means less works for us, but it is just so difficult enough to catalyze changes within a community, let alone inspire others outside communities. Things can hardly be copied. There is no formula…I think that if the project was clear and got attention, it would catalyze changes on its own." (CASE03)

At the same time, CODI architects criticized CASE architects' practice as showing a lack of awareness related to scaling up, because most CASE architects refuse formula, routinization and any standards in practice.

> "CASE architects only choose to work on the project they think is interesting. They have less work, more time, and get more expenses than I do, but sometimes they can not finish the work. And they would just say that it is unpredictable; there are many problems; or they encounter obstructions." (CODI02)

The research findings show great challenges in trying to reach the quantitative scale of the problem – 'scaling out' – without losing the quality of a genuine participatory process – 'scaling up'. Ideally, at institutional policy level, quantity and quality should go together, but in practice it means struggles and challenges for the practitioners in the field.

4.3 Architect's Values related to their Roles

The espoused theory and theory-in-use of CODI and CASE architects' related to their roles are more similar than those of NHA architects. This is perhaps because CODI and CASE architects' individual values are synchronized with their organization's policy. Based on the photo analysis and semi-structure interviews, the majority of CODI architects perceived their roles as supporter in both espoused theory and theory-in-use. However, while CODI architects perceived their major role as supporters in their espoused theory, in action they also had to play an extra role as catalysts because of the interventions supported by CODI organizational policy.

Similarly, the majority of CASE architects described their roles as supporter in both espoused theory and theory-in-use. However, in their espoused theory, they referred to the role of architects as catalysts more often than CODI architects. Moreover, the view of their roles in espoused theory and theory-in-use are more similar than those of CODI architects. In other words, what CASE architects do in practice is relatively harmonized with what they think they should be doing. (Please see Figure 6-1 for a summary.)

Only one CODI architect simultaneously mentioned his role as 'provider' and 'supporter'. The role as 'supporter' for CODI and CASE architects meant facilitating the design process and helping the community members on technical issues such as basic design principles, technical architectural drawings, materials and construction, and cost estimation. It is important to note that the roles of provider and supporter for CODI and CASE architects are interrelated. The research interviews show that CODI and CASE architects play their role as 'providers' – designing basic community infrastructure, a water system, sanitation, electricity and providing other technical information for the community members – with an aim to 'support' the community members. This reflects the different professional values they have towards the capacity of slum dwellers in comparison to NHA architects.

Although all CODI and CASE architects agreed with the word 'to facilitate', the degree of their authority in a participatory design process over the clients varies. The most common

verbal expression, which 14 out of 17[3] CODI and CASE architects mentioned in the interviews, is to 'half lead and half listen' to the clients in the process.

> "It is not about following everything the clients said. It is also not about making decisions for them. It is about giving information and suggestions. There are things we [architects] cannot compromise, such as safety in the construction process." (CODI08)

> "As architects, we are a part of the learning process. I hardly lead. We have to learn as well. We have to be open. Our role is to be aware of the situation, listen to, and go with the flow of the dialogues taking place" (CASE01)

By contrast, 2 out of 17 CODI and CASE architects mentioned their role as the 'director' of a participatory design process.

> "I have to short-cut some processes… The policy, which focuses very much on large-scale impact, forced me to do that… I do not ask the clients questions. I throw answers at them. I have to lead. We should not follow their dreams. Normally, most of them want to have a house which is too big for them to afford. There are 50 CODI house prototypes to choose from. The clients have to choose the ones that suit their budget." (CODI11)

> "I knew at the beginning what the design should look like. My role is to get the clients to the point that I see. What I did is to slowly persuade them step by step." (CASE04)

Expressing an alternative view, 1 out of 17 CODI and CASE architects stated that she felt as if she was exploited merely as a draftswoman. From her statement, it seemed as though she had little control over her design.

> "The project I am working on is really being rushed. The NGO wants quick design and drawings. The clients are only interested in house price and whether they can occupy the whole plot or not. What I do is merely to make some drawings for them… and they [NGO and the clients] just keep changing their minds. I am tired." (CODI03)

In short, according to the interviews with 17 CODI and CASE architects, three types of a 'supporter' role emerge:

- Directive 'supporter' (two architects)

[3] The total number of interviewed CODI and CASE architects is 18. One of them mentioned the architect's role only as a catalyst.

- Learning ‘supporters’ who half-lead and half-listen (14 architects)
- Exploited ‘supporter’ (one architect)

With respect to their role as ‘catalyst’, CODI and CASE architects’ values are synchronized with the three elements of Freire’s ‘true education’. They mentioned that they used design process and product to encourage the people through small design and non-design interventions to discover their reality and situation in order to believe in their capacity; to encourage the people to collectively act for themselves through participatory community planning; and to support the people to reflect on their actions through a number of activities after the community infrastructure and houses are finished. Their tools and techniques are discussed in detail in the Chapter 8.

4.4 Reflections from CODI and CASE Clients

Similarly to NHA clients, all CODI and CASE clients chose to participate in the *Baan Mankong* Programme. All of them knew about the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme. The CODI and CASE clients from each project had different reasons for participating. Their reasons are both practical and idealistic.

On the practical side, all six CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients participated in the programme because they did not want to move from the site and they were under pressure and received eviction threats from the private land owners. For CODI *Suan Phlu Pattana* clients who coexisted on the same site with the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme, the reason for refusing to move out is not relevant. Their reasons for choosing to participate were also mainly practical. Nine out of sixteen CODI *Suan Phlu Pattana* clients said that, at a height of five floors, the *Baan Eua Arthorn* house design did not suit their life style and livelihoods; the price of the NHA residential units was also more expensive.

Similarly, for all CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients, their reasons for participating in the project were practical. All community members stated that the project was initiated by them and that they wanted to change the aim of the government budget from upgrading to reconstruction for the whole site, because they wanted everyone to benefit from the budget equally. To reconstruct the whole community seemed like a more equitable option for everyone, so they all agreed to participate in the reconstruction process. Another reason, which 3 out of 10 CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients mentioned, is because there were many rumours of a threat of eviction and their houses were in bad shape, so they wanted to make an improvement for practical and strategic reasons – to improve their houses *per se* and to make a statement that they wanted to stay on their land which is owned by the government.

On the idealistic side, only one CODI *Klong Lumnoon* client, who also had practical reasons, said that she participated in the programme because she would like to 'fight' to eliminate the stigma of being a slum dweller for her daughter. However, another CODI *Klong Lumnoon* client almost withdrew herself from the programme because there were too many arguments and conflicts during the participatory process. In fact, there were phases implying community bonds and people-organization development which were nurtured through a participatory process, such as, "we fought and struggled together", "we got to know each other so much better through the struggles we had", and "we wanted to live together".

Similarly, 6 out of 16 CODI *Suan Phlu Pattana* clients had both practical and idealistic reasons and only 1 out of 16 clients had only idealistic reasons, including the preference of their pride to fight for themselves and freedom in life to make their own community rules and regulations. Two CODI *Suan Phlu Pattana* clients mentioned that they wanted to be in charge of their lives. At the least, they wanted to be able to choose their neighbours or the zoning of their residential units.

In relation to architects' roles, all CODI *Suan Phlu Pattana* clients referred to the role of a CODI architect as a learning supporter and they agreed with the design that emerged from their participatory process with the architect. By contrast, although four out of six CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients referred to the role of the CODI architect as a 'learning supporter', none of the CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients chose to build their house based on the design they had agreed with the architect.

> "As I remembered, the architect did not really say that we had to follow his design… oh well… even if he did, he could not control us anyway. He encountered a lot of pressure. We [community members] were very strong about what we wanted." (CODIPJ101)

Two out of six CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients' statements reflect the exploited 'supporter' role of the architects:

> "The reason that we agreed with the architect's plan in the design process in the first place was just because we wanted to get the design process done, so we could get loans from the CODI to implement the project." (CODIPJ104)

This statement shows that the architect was 'exploited' by their clients in order to fulfil the requirement of a 'participatory' project. In other words, the clients simulated the feeling of

'participation' by participating in a meeting without the genuine intention to express their thoughts and opinions, but to make it look like 'participation', simply to get it done.

Comparably, although CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients referred to the role of a CASE architect as a learning supporter, the majority of them – 65 from 66 households – refused to use old materials as suggested by the architects. However, this does not imply the role of an 'exploited' architect as in the CODI *Klong Lumnoon* case. It is more related to the contradiction of values towards the aesthetics between CASE architect and the clients; and perhaps additionally related to the effectiveness of the CODI architect's communication. These challenges are discussed further in the next Chapter.

In conclusion, CODI and CASE architects employ 'participation' more as a means for local capacity and design effectiveness than empowerment, comparably, their clients employ participation more for practical than idealistic reasons.

5. Architects' Approach to Reflective Learning

While NHA architects assume the role of the 'expert' by presuming to know and maintaining a distance from their clients (although this is more because of their organizational policy), CODI and CASE architects play their role more as 'reflective practitioners' (Schon, 1983) by presuming to know but at the same time acknowledging other people's capacity and contribution and seeking out genuine connections with their clients.

The nature of NHA architects' work is clear, linear and isolated. None of the NHA architects mentioned 'unpredictability' in their everyday practice. They do not mention reflection-in-action in their practice.

> "I stop thinking. My work is so much in a rush. I just try to finish the work on my desk day by day. It becomes a routine. It is boring. I am not happy." (NHA04)

Similarly, all NHA architects also mentioned the rush of the *Baan Eur Arthorn* programme as a problem. Her reflection implies that there is no possibility of reflective practice. It prevents them from having time to think about different design tools and techniques, which might be helpful to create more effectiveness in their design and the housing programme.

By contrast, the practice of CODI and CASE architects reflected different levels of reflective practice. Both of them are skilful or encompass knowing-in-action of site planning

and small house design. This relates to skills and discussed further in Chapter 8. All of them mentioned intrinsic unpredictability and conflicts in their practice and the necessity for them to improvise. This clearly implies their capacity related to reflection-in-action in practice. From the research interviews CASE architects seem to have higher levels of improvisation than CODI architects because CODI architects only worked on the *Baan Mankong* Programme and the working steps are more clearly defined than those of CASE architects. CODI architects' responsibilities are also more clearly distinguished from social workers than CASE architects.

However, when focussing on the third element of Schon's reflective practice (1983) – 'reflection on reflection-in-action' – CODI seems to encompass a higher degree of reflective practice than CASE architects because of the support of CODI organizational policy. CODI architects' intervention in practice includes the establishment of a 'learning centre' in *Baan Mankong* projects – using finished projects as a place for sharing knowledge and experiences – and employing site visits as a means to facilitate dialogue amongst community members from different projects. The establishment of the learning centers in different communities encourages the community members to reflect on their experiences and transfer the knowledge to their peers. The architects also indirectly learn from the success and mistakes. However, most CODI architects said that they did not have much time to reflect on their work due to the heavy workload.

Similar to CODI architects, one CASE architect mentioned that CASE architects hardly had time to reflect on their practice. It is important to note that CASE architects did not facilitate any intervention to encourage community members to reflect on or offer feedback about the architects' or the people's action once the projects are finished because their contract with the funded organizations normally ends when the design process is finished. It is important to point out that one CASE architect added that answering the researcher's questions encouraged him to critically think about his performance. In other words, this research itself can be considered a means to facilitate a 'reflection on reflection-in-action' of the architects.

The research findings shows that the non-participatory housing policy and quantitative focus of *Baan Eur Arthorn* programme obstructs the reflective practice of NHA architects at two levels – their reflection-in-action and reflection on reflection-in-action. At the same time, an attempt to scale up participatory housing policy of *Baan Mankong* programme is challenging reflective practice at two levels. First, routinization is helpful and important but decreases unpredictability and devalues the acknowledgement related to diversity of communities, thus discouraging improvisation or reflection-in-action of CODI and CASE architects. Second, the interviews with CASE architects show a complex and dilemmatic

finding that the participatory process, which is supposed to be or facilitate a reflective learning, intrinsically obstructs reflection on reflection-in-action of architects and community members because of its time-consuming character versus the needs to solve the problem at scale.

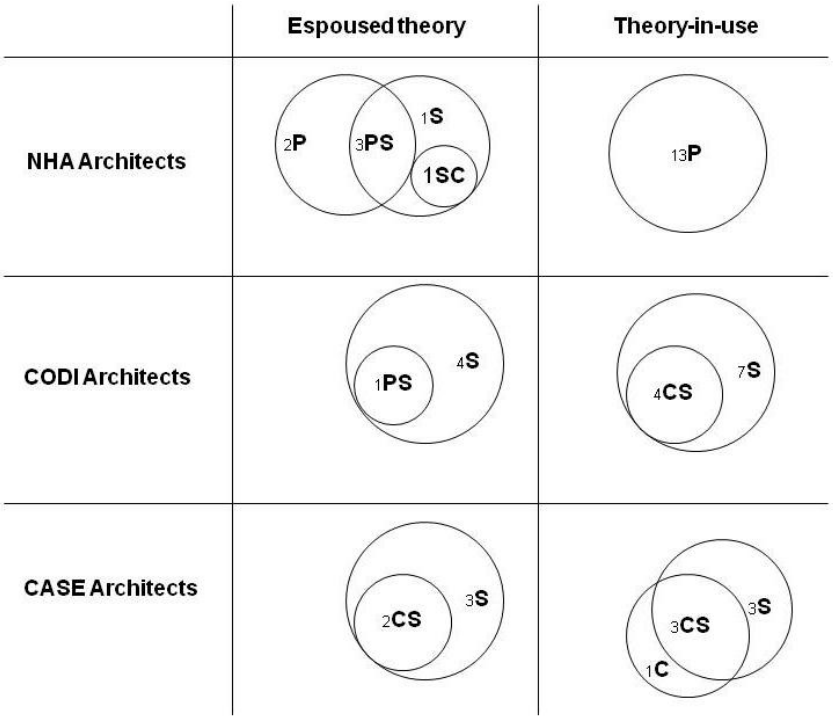
It is important to note that the use of CODI's 'learning centre' reflects the three elements of scaling up (Gaventa, 1998). First, it concerns scaling out by increasing the quantity of participants using internal encouragement amongst the people's peers. Second, it promotes scaling up by sharing knowledge. Third, it shows that an institutional will to support the idea at scale is helpful in practice. The use of the 'learning centre' makes CODI architects' practice related to 'reflection on reflection-in-action', unlike CASE architects.

6. The Three Roles of Architects and Contradictions between Values

The diagram below compares the values of NHA, CODI and CASE architects underlying their roles. It summarizes their espoused theories from the photo analysis and theories-in-use from the semi-structured interviews.[4]

[4] As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the total numbers of the interviewed architects from the two research methods – photo analysis and semi-structure interview are different due to limited time.

Figure 6-1: NHA, CODI and CASE architect's values towards their roles – comparing their espoused theories and theories-in-use



P = Provider

S = Supporter

C = Catalyst

The figure shows that NHA architects' espoused theories are the most complex, comprising the roles as provider, supporter and catalyst. Almost half of the NHA architects believed that the role of architects in dealing with challenges posed by slums was to serve as a provider and a supporter. Only two NHA architects believed that they could perform as a provider alone. However, what they could actually perform in practice was the role of a provider because of their organizational policy. By contrast, there were small contradictions between CODI and CASE architects' perceptions of their roles in both espoused theories and theories-in-use. More than half of the CODI and CASE architects performed both as supporters and catalysts in practice and CODI architects performed as catalysts more than what they believed their role should be. Furthermore, CASE architects did not mention their role as providers at all, either in the photos analysis or the semi-structured interviews.

The research findings show that, in practice, the role of catalysts was more related to the role of supporters than providers, and that the role of providers was more related to the roles of supporters than catalysts. It is important to emphasize that architects from one organization did not specify any one particular role for architects, but the three roles were all embedded in the professionalism of architects from each organization in varying degrees.

Based on the character and values of their organization, the researcher had expected architects to identify a specific role. In other words, in practice, it was not about being only a provider, a supporter, *or* a catalyst, but *all* the roles were interrelated. However, in relation to CODI and CASE architects' theory-in-use, it is clear that the values of their new architectural professionalism are purely as supporters and catalysts in practice. While NHA architects design to control, CODI and CASE architects design to support and catalyse. In other words, the former use their architectural expertise to design and make decisions for poor urban communities. The latter uses it to support community members in making decisions by themselves through local capacity building related to building construction and management skills, additionally to encourage them to be more aware of their situation, believe in themselves, collectively act for themselves and reflect on their actions.

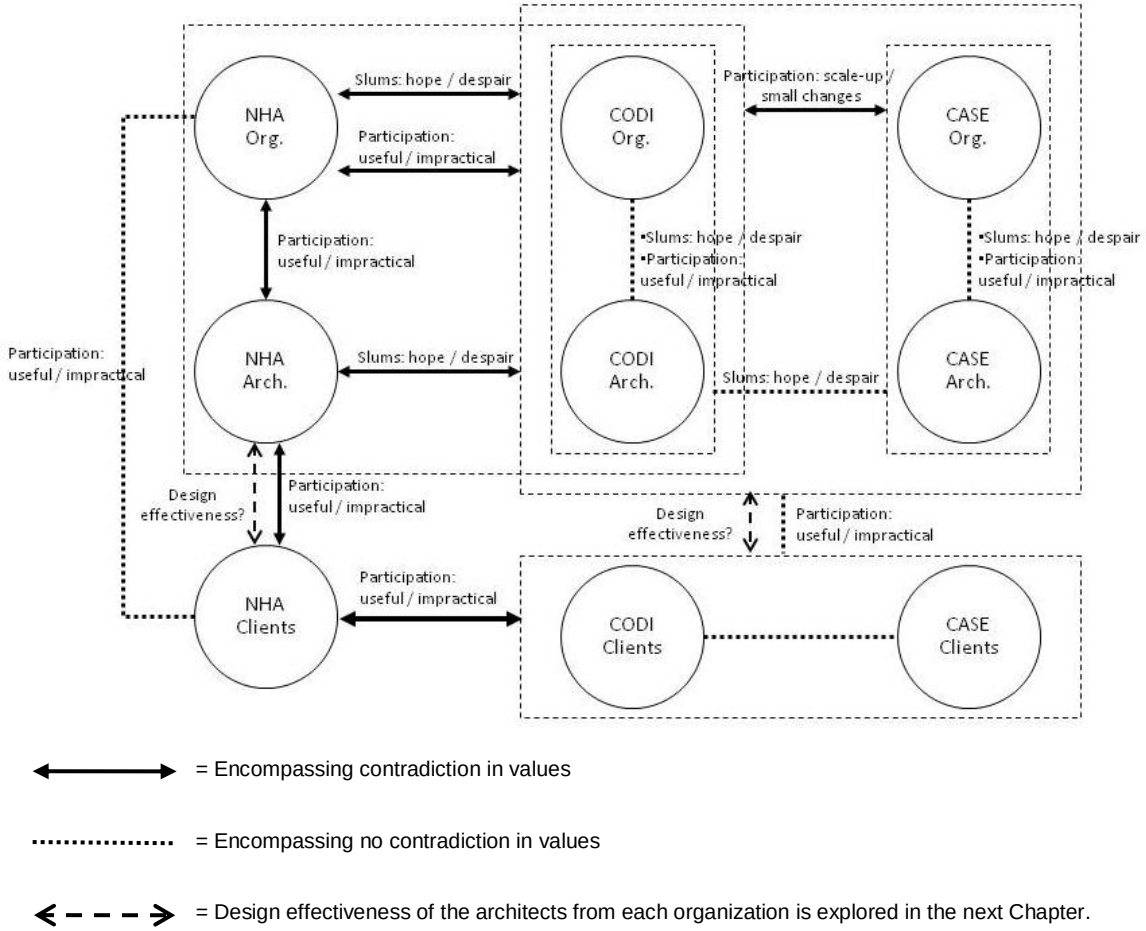
Figure 6.2 below summarizes the contradictions of values at different levels. First, the research findings show no major contradiction between the perception of 'slums' and 'participation' of CODI and CASE at both the organizational and individual levels. Second, both CODI and CASE clients prioritize their 'participation' in housing themselves, while NHA clients consciously chose non-participatory process as promoted by NHA organizational policy. Third, although both CODI and CASE architects prioritize participation in housing, CODI is concerned more with solving the problem at the macro scale and scaling up the participatory approach in practice, while CASE focuses more on the micro scale and small interventions. Fourth, the research findings confirm that CODI and CASE architects perceived more 'hope' and 'opportunities' in the existence of informal settlements than NHA architects. Finally, while NHA organizational policy does not value participation in housing, the majority of NHA architects did value participation but did/could not practice it.

The research findings show that organizational values both encourages and discourages architects' individual values in practice. NHA architects, whose organization does not emphasize participatory approach in its housing policy, tend to perceive slums negatively. In contrast, CODI and CASE architects, whose organizations promote faith in people's capacity and participation, tend to perceive slums positively. However, the key is that if there is no opportunity to reflect on organizational policy in practice, the values nurtured by the organization remained unchallenged, although they conflict with the architects' individual values, as shown in the NHA architects.

It is important to note that 'no contradiction' in the figure does not mean 'no challenges.' It also does not mean that everything was completely agreed on. It merely means that the 'majority' of the result is shown as synchronized. More in-depth analysis of the challenges in the practice of NHA, CODI and CASE architects are explored through the

reflection from their clients about the effectiveness of their design and are discusses in the next Chapter.

Figure 6-2: Contradictions in values about 'slums' and 'participation' amongst NHA, CODI, CASE architects, their organizations and their clients



Focusing on the complex roles of the new professionalism of community architects, comparing Figures 6.1 and 6.2, there are three factors underlining different roles of architects and their challenges in practice – their individual, organization's, and their clients' values.

First, the values of architects' organization clearly influence the architects' theory-in-use because it defines what architects do in practice. At the same time, the organization's values, if it is clearly dominant and there is no opportunity for reflective practice, also influence the latter's espoused theory. For example, NHA organizational policy supports NHA architects to play the role as provider. NHA architects, who value 'participation' although in a vague way, did not have a chance to apply their belief in practice. Thus, they do not acknowledge the power of community members to make decision to solve problems by

themselves, so they continued to believe in their 'power over' community members by making design decisions on the behalf of the people, excluding the latter from the decision making process.

Second, adding a complex dimension to the previous point, it is important to note that being architects acting as providers does not always relate to coercion. In other words, from the point of view of those who are provided for, providers do not always have 'power over' the people they provide for. For example, NHA architects' clients chose to participate in a non-participatory housing scheme of the NHA. In other words, they chose to be excluded from design decision making which affects their life. In this case, NHA architects are endorsed by their clients to play the role as provider. However, this does not mean that the effectiveness of the design of the providers is high. Their challenges related to the effectiveness of their knowledge are discussed in the next Chapter.

Third, architects acting as supporters perceived the existence of informal settlements positively. They acknowledged the local capacity of the urban poor. They believed that, with appropriate support, the people have the 'power to' make decisions for themselves. The research findings show three different types of supporters – directive, learning and exploited. It is important to point out that directive supporters seemed to perceive their roles having as much 'power over' community members as architects acting as providers. However, from the point of view of CODI and CASE architects' clients of the three chosen housing projects, architects acting as supporters do not seem to have 'power over' the clients, as the majority of the clients of both CODI *Klong Lumnoon* and *Arkarn Songkhroa* communities did not follow the design suggested by the architects.

Finally, similar to architects acting as supporters, architects acting as catalysts also perceived and acknowledged the local capacity of community members. They believed that, with appropriate catalytic interventions, the people have the 'power to' make decisions for themselves. Their role to encourage community members to discover and believe in their capacity relates to increasing the people's 'power from within'. Their role to encourage community members to act for themselves helps increasing the people's 'power to' at personal, relational and collective levels. This also involves encouraging community members to encompass knowing-in-action and reflection-in-action in their practice. Their role to encourage community members to reflect on their action means supporting the people to conduct reflection on their reflection-in-action in order to learn from success and mistake.

Chapter 7: Identifying Relevant Knowledge: Comparative Views of Architects and Reflections from Community Members

1. Introduction

This chapter looks at the findings from the fieldwork to explore the emerging knowledge underlying the new architectural 'professionalism.' The chapter discusses and compares the different knowledge of NHA architects, who normally design 'for' the urban poor, and the new architectural professionalism of CODI and CASE architects, who design 'with' the urban poor. The 'espoused knowledge' and 'knowledge-in-use' of NHA, CODI and CASE architects are compared with a consideration of the source of the knowledge – architectural schools, *ad hoc* training workshops and everyday practice - in order to shed light on the alternative architectural education.

While conventional architects share similar architectural design knowledge with NHA, CODI and CASE architects, the knowledge of the new architectural professionalism, as Serageldin (2000) mentioned, also includes the additional notion of participation and empowerment as the key. This involves knowledge related to the socio-cultural and political-institutional dimension of the design process and product which is not emphasized in conventional architectural schools.

This chapter also aims to explore the effectiveness of the architects' knowledge in action by comparing what they claimed to do, with what their clients experienced. First, in relation to the architects' architectural design knowledge, the clients were asked about their satisfaction with the house design focusing on building materials and construction. Second, in relation to socio-cultural knowledge, the researcher explores to what extent the design meets the needs of the clients considering their livelihoods and lifestyle. The researcher focused on the original design initiated by the architects and physical additions implemented by the clients. Third, in relation to political-institutional knowledge, the researcher explored community bonds and people-organization development which emerged through or after the design process.

The research findings of this chapter are derived from semi-structured interviews with NHA, CODI and CASE architects, their clients in the four chosen projects – NHA *Baan Eua Arthorn: Rangsit Klong 3 Community* (NHAPJ), CODI *Baan Mankong Klong Lumnoon Community* (CODIPJ01), CODI *Baan Mankong Suan Phlu Pattana Community* (CODIPJ02) and CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa Community* (CASEPJ) – and selected housing experts.

It is important to note that the researcher could not distinguish between and compare the effectiveness of CODI architects and CASE architects' knowledge through reflection by their clients *per se*, because the two architects who were responsible for the CODI projects – the *Klong Lumnoon* community and the *Suan Phlu* community – left CODI and went to work for CASE after the projects were completed (Architects CASE01 and CASE04). To avoid confusion and misinterpretation, the researcher grouped CODI and CASE architects into the same category.

2. Architects' Previous Architectural Education

In relation to the sources of the architects' knowledge, all NHA, CODI and CASE architects were trained in conventional architectural education to work in commercial architectural practice. They stated that they did not learn about the genuine understanding of slums or participatory design from their architectural school. Five out of twelve NHA architects said that their architectural schools did not integrate such issues into the curriculum at all. The other seven NHA architects said that low-income housing issues were introduced and mentioned in their courses in a very vague way. There were few real experiences in the field, and as part of this, they did not visit any slums. When they did have site visits, they did not work with local community members.

Only 2 out of 10 CODI architects said that they learned how to conduct and engage poor communities to participate in the design process from their undergraduate level education. Both of them graduated from the Urban Design course at Mahasarakarm University. However, their other three colleagues, who also graduated from the same course at the same time, expressed different views. They stated that although they had a chance to visit and do some surveys in informal communities, genuine participatory design concepts and methods were not introduced until they were trained in *ad hoc* workshops by the founder of CASE when they started working at CODI. Five out of ten CODI architects said they learned a lot from working as trainees at CODI and another local authority as part of the compulsory training module during the fourth year of their architectural undergraduate education.

All CASE architects said that they did not learn about slums and participatory design from their previous architectural education. One CASE architect had an opportunity to join an international architectural workshop in which he visited informal settlements and worked with local community members. He felt this was a very beneficial experience for his practice today. Two CASE architects said that the training workshops organized by the founder of CASE were useful. Two CASE architects mentioned that they learned mainly from their practice.

Although most NHA, CODI and CASE architects said they did not directly learn much about low-income housing and community practice, they agreed that their previous architectural education was useful. Four out of thirteen NHA architects continued their postgraduate study in Architecture, Environment or Planning Studies. They all agreed that their postgraduate study was very useful in their practice. Six out of eleven CODI architects studied Architecture and the rest studied Urban Design at the undergraduate level. Six out of eleven CODI architects came from Mahasarakarm University. Three out of eleven CODI architects continued their postgraduate study in Planning. The research findings show that architects who studied Urban Design at undergraduate level said that their previous education was slightly more useful for their community practice than those who studied Architecture.

> "Urban design students analyse things in a more holistic way than architectural students who tend to see things mainly physically and in isolation." (CODI06)

However two of them criticised their Urban Design course as follows:

> "What I got [from Urban Design study] are mainly design techniques and principles. There were few chances to work directly with real community members." (CODI04)

> "In our classes, we focussed more on rich clients, not poor communities. We planned resorts and hotels." (CODI05)

Five out of seven CASE architects did their undergraduate study in Architecture from Silpakorn University.

> "The reason could be because our school [the Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University] emphasizes extensively the knowledge of vernacular architecture." (SU06)

Six out of seven CASE architects did not continue into postgraduate study. Only the founder of CASE continued with her postgraduate study in Development Practice at Oxford Brookes University in the United Kingdom. Half of the CASE architects said that their previous architectural education is very useful in their practice today.

> "Architectural education taught us analytical skills. There are steps and procedures in a design process. It taught us how to think creatively and systematically." (CASE02)

One CASE architect, who agreed that their previous architectural education was useful, also pointed out some disadvantages in the lack of participatory design in the

architectural content of their education. Only two out of six CASE architects said that their previous architectural education was not useful or not very relevant to their practice as a community architect. Both also graduated from Silpakorn University. The main criticism related to values concerned with architectural content and teaching methods that nurtured an egotistical type of designer, which in their opinion, was not useful for either community or commercial practice.

> "Our training makes students think they are God deciding things on paper for their clients. The students never deal with real clients." (CASE03)

3. NHA Architects

3.1 Design Knowledge

The knowledge-in-use of all 13 NHA architects is limited only to design knowledge principals and there is no mention of socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge. Learned from conventional architectural education, NHA architects mentioned the following aspects of design in their practice.

- Basic design and site planning principles, such as, safety, building orientation, natural ventilation, lighting and climatic design
- Technical architectural drawings
- Low-cost building materials and construction
- Cost estimation and feasibility studies
- Thailand building regulations and Housing Estate Act

All 13 NHA architects who play the role mainly as providers in practice gave the greatest emphasis to site planning knowledge. The research findings show that the knowledge NHA architects used in practice is less diverse than what they learned from conventional architectural school. Only 1 out of 13 NHA architects mentioned low-cost house design, as in practice most of them only deal with site planning using standardized prototype house designed by another working department.

The mechanism which was mentioned most often by all 13 NHA architects when asked how they design is 'Terms of Reference (TOR)' which are established by the NHA 'top team' or policy makers. Under the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme, NHA architects had to follow the TOR both in the conventional and turn-key approaches[1]. The research findings

[1] The turn-key option was introduced and replaced the conventional approach to save time and to increase the number of outputs of the programme.

show that the TOR became dominant and thus limited NHA architects to employ other knowledge in practice. In other words, the TOR deskilled NHA architects.

The TOR of the *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme identifies basic NHA design principles, which mainly focus on the quantitative dimension of design standards and provide for clients with eligible income levels. It describes general regulations such as maximum densities of residential units per *rai*[2] and the definition of different types of community categorized by the number of residential units and basic site planning principles, which specify the minimum functional area requirements and land sizes for each residential unit type – condominium, detached house, attached house and row-house. Furthermore, they indicate other basic site planning issues, such as

- accessibility to community facilities
- set-back dimensions which have to follow the local building act
- land use, type, number and size of community facilities, such as commercial community areas, community centres, parks and other street furniture
- dimensions of main and minor streets in a community.

Moreover, specification of building materials, construction standards for architecture, engineering works, water supply, sanitation, electricity and landscaping works and maximum construction time for different types of project categorized by the number of residential units were designated. All this knowledge is a part of design knowledge in which they are trained in conventional architectural education.

With regard to the nature of their responsibility in practice, the research findings show a clear-cut division of responsibility for each working team in each phase of the process under the *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme. In the conventional approach to the programme conducted before the turn-key approach, there were teams for land selection, land survey, feasibility study, prototype-house design and community site planning. The architects only worked in the site planning team. After the feasibility study was conducted, the NHA would call for private contractors to build the project as planned. One NHA architect said that their responsibility was finished once the clients received the house and it was later the job of NHA social workers to promote community building and people-organization.

In the turn-key approach, the private sector took care of the phases of land selection, land survey, site planning and the feasibility study, with support from the NHA teams in each phase. There is also a regulation stating that private contractors have to propose the project and design the site plan in accordance with the TOR set by the NHA. Two out of ten NHA architects mentioned their roles as ‘coaches’, ‘consultants’, and ‘facilitators’ for private

[2] 1 *rai* equals 1,600 square metres

contractors. Ten out of ten NHA architects said that their job under the turn-key approach was to check the private sector's site plans against the TOR, and additionally to adjust the site plan aesthetically, to make it more 'liveable'. The NHA architects' feelings towards the TOR are diverse. Four out of ten had a clear positive feeling. The majority or 6 out of 10 NHA architects said that the qualitative standard of the TOR had decreased too much because of financial limitations.

In relation to NHA architects' political-institutional knowledge, NHA architects did not have any contact with their clients. NHA architects only went to visit the site a few times, unlike the CODI and CASE architects, and they normally received indirect information from the land survey teams. The semi-structure interviews with NHA architects show that they had no notion of power relations amongst community members and between them and their clients. The research findings show that they own only recognized power relations between NHA policy makers versus NHA architects, and private contractors versus NHA architects. These relations are not related to political-institutional knowledge defined by the researcher. However, these notions affect the feeling their encompthe feeling they encompass towards their roles in practice.

Half of the NHA architects said that architects had limited influence over the decision making process about the number of sellable residential units. As the architects claimed, many times, the projects were approved for purchase – with agreement on how many units to build – by the NHA policy makers before the architects even had a chance to comment, because the NHA had to rush to produce as many units as possible in response to government policy. Finally, one NHA architect acknowledged the power of the private contractors over them in the form of manipulation.

> "The trick is [that the private contractor intends] to produce a very bad site plan for the first scheme. So, we [NHA architects] will make a lot of amendments. Then we will feel good that we have worked on the project. They said that if they design the first scheme perfectly, we will feel frustrated at not being able to make any changes and will not let the project pass to the next step fast enough." [NHA05]

All NHA architects clearly stated that they played a very limited role and have limited influence to make decisions and changes in their work.

3.2 Reflections from NHA Clients: the Effectiveness of NHA architects' Knowledge

The research findings show that although NHA clients accepted the NHA architect's role as providers in the first place when they decided to buy the house from the NHA, the designs done by the NHA architects do not seem to meet the needs and interests of the clients in all three dimensions – design, socio-cultural and political-institutional.

In relation to NHA architects' design knowledge, the majority or nine out of 14 NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients expressed dissatisfaction towards the standard and quality of the building materials. The other five felt it was tolerable. In relation to the lack of socio-cultural knowledge of NHA architects, 12 out of 14 NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients broke building laws and community regulations concerning house extension and general rules for inhabitation. In relation to the lack of political-institutional knowledge of NHA architects, 8 out of 14 NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients said they had negative relationship with their neighbours and NHA *Rangsit Klong* community members were not united. People organization was not nurtured or developed by NHA architects through the house design and construction process

Focusing on NHA architects' lack of socio-cultural knowledge, from the researcher's direct observations and research interviews, the community regulation set by the NHA policy makers did not seem to be effective in relation to the NHA clients' way of life and livelihoods. First, although pets are not allowed, 4 out of 14 interviewed NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients and many other houses had pets and let them walk around freely. Second, the regulation against leaving objects around the house to reduce clutter and fire hazards was often not respected. Although it is difficult to define 'clutter', the research findings show that most houses had various objects around their houses, especially on the sides. In some cases, the 'clutter' was necessary because of their livelihoods. Figure 7-1 below shows a 'cluttered house' that broke community rules and regulations because the house owner, a garbage collector, stored his equipment and materials.

Figure 7-1: 'Cluttered' house

Third, although there should be no object such as trolleys, tables and chairs placed on walkways and utilizing public space, the research findings showed that all of the above were common objects found in the project.

Figure 7-2: Public spaces were invaded for personal use in the NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* community

Fourth, after receiving the lease, the clients should move in within 90 days. An NHA social worker at NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* [KEY07] said that 390 out of 477 house owners had moved in. The others just paid rent without moving in. Finally, the clients were warned against sub-letting the house to other people. Seven out of fourteen interviewed NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients mentioned that subletting took place informally on a large scale in the project. The researcher could not ascertain the actual number of the sublet units. One of the interviewed NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients admitted that he sublet his house to outsiders.

With regard to the housing design, NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients extended their house to suit their needs and livelihoods, even though, in some cases, that meant breaking community rules and regulations. First, clients are supposed to ask for and receive permission from the NHA before making any extension to their houses. However, 3 out of 14 interviewed NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients proceeded with the extensions without asking for permission. Second, clients are only allowed to extend/fill the room in the space available on the ground floor with the use of standard materials, such as a brick wall, for house extensions. Nevertheless, the researcher's observations uncovered that it was common to find 'non-standard' materials, such as metal sheet, plywood board and tent material. Third, although the kitchen should only be extended in the back with additional rain drainage installed, two interviewed NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients extended it on the sides as well. Furthermore, most of the people who extended their kitchens did not install the rain drainage system properly. Finally, the clients are not allowed to change the fence in any way. The NHA architects explained that a very low and permeable fence was intended to create a 'merciful' community, where neighbours can conveniently interact with one another and lower fencing could also make it look less crowded. Nevertheless 7 out of 14 interviewed NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients amended their fence – by making the base solid – to prevent cats and dogs in the neighbourhood to trespass on their property.

Figure 7-3: The original fences (the lower white lines) were widely changed in the NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* community

It is important to note that the causes of the mismatch between the NHA architects' design and NHA clients' way of life, leading to broken community rules and regulation, do not only come from the lack of NHA architects' socio-cultural knowledge in design. There is also an absence of understanding and learning amongst of NHA clients. The non-participatory approach of the *Baan Eua Arthorn* programme in house and community site planning design did not encourage a learning process amongst the clients. Most NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients

did not know the purposes behind the NHA architects' design. They also did not acknowledge Thai building regulations and the Housing Estate Act at all.

> "I want to extend my house to the whole plot of land. I do not know why they have to set back the house like this. There is a lot of wasted space." (NHAPJ12)

However, it is important to note that even though CODI and CASE architects conducted 'participatory design process', it did not mean that their clients completely understood the design and site plan. This is discussed in the next section.

With respect to site planning and shared facilities, Nine out of 14 NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients said that they did not use the community library. They said they did not have time; the room was too warm; they did not know what to do there and they did not know what the library provided. Six out of fourteen NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients said that they did not use the community playground and sports facilities. The reasons, listed in order of the most frequently mentioned to the least, are as follows: that there was a lot of dog excrement on the ground; they did not have time; their houses were too far from the facilities; and they preferred to stay at home. Third, 4 out of 14 NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients said that they did not use the community centre. Overall, the most common reason was that they did not know what to do there.

The research findings show that, although a provided space was given 'a name' – 'library', 'playground', 'sports ground' or 'community centre' – by architects, it did not mean that the users recognized them as such and used it accordingly. In other words, the researcher argues that although the 'hardware' – the buildings – was completed and ready to be used, the 'software' – the management of space – a very important element in making it 'work' was missing. At the same time, with regard to design matters, the lengthy physical configuration of the site plan of the project also had many limitations, as three NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients said that they did not interact with other members or did not share facilities simply because their houses were too far from the facilities and from other members.

Figure 7-4: A very lengthy physical configuration of the site plan of the NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* community

Source: NHA architects

Although NHA architects did not acknowledge their clients' 'power to' make decision by themselves related to design, in practice, with and without breaking community regulations, many NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients used their 'power to' adopt the house to suit their needs, life style and livelihoods. They also extensively decorated their standardized houses in an attempt to express their identities. In other words, regardless of the very rigid framework – house design and community regulations set by the NHA – the NHA clients' intrinsic 'power to resist' was evident in their physical additions.

Figure 7-5: House decorations (without architects) reflecting their identities

Figure 7-6: Emergence of different identities in the same given house structure in the NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* community

This is comparable to what Foucault said:

> "…After all, the architect has no power over me. If I want to tear down or change a house he [sic] built for me, put up new partitions, add a chimney, the architect has no control. So the architect should be placed in another category – which is not to say that he [sic] is not totally foreign to the organization, the implementation, and all the

technique of power that are exercised in a society. I would say that one must take him [sic] – his [sic] mentality, his [sic] attitude – in to account as well as his [sic] projects, in order to understand a certain number of the techniques of power that we invested in architecture, but he [sic] is not comparable to a doctor, a priest, a psychiatrist, or a prison warden." (Cited in Leach, 1997: 373)

Many houses in the NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* were running small enterprises at home. It seems that the NHA architects' design of the multi-purpose space on the ground floor seemed to correspond well to the various needs for different livelihoods.

Figure 7-7: Different types of small enterprises occupying the same space in different houses

Given the NHA architects' lack of political-institutional knowledge, NHA social workers were responsible for building and strengthening community bonds and developing people organization. There were many community-building activities, such as, special activities on festival days, sports, evening aerobics classes and skills training for female clients. They were launched by the community committee and NHA social workers, after the project was completely finished.

A minority or 6 out of 14 NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients stated that they had a positive relationship with their neighbours, although four of them said that they only concentrated on their neighbourhood or '*soi*'[3].

"I know my neighbours well. They are good. We talk every day. I feel lucky to be in this *soi*. I do not care about other *soi.* I do not think they talk to each other as much as we do." (NHAPJ14)

[3] '*Soi*' means 'a small street' in Thai

The research findings show that the site planning for NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* which divided the community into many *sois* seems likely to have encouraged community members to have close relationships within a small group within their *soi.*

The majority or 8 out of 14 NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients complained a great deal about their neighbours and the lack of communication and distrust that existed among them. The research findings show that the NHA did not seem to succeed in creating a 'merciful' community as intended.

> "I try not to engage with anyone. I prefer to be on my own." (NHAPJ09)

> "Community members are not united. We do not collaborate. When there is a community meeting, only ten people come. The people are selfish" (NHAPJ04)

> "I do not know my neighbours so well. I only stay at home. I cannot call them friends." (NHAPJ08)

4. CODI and CASE

4.1 Design Knowledge

The research findings show that CODI and CASE architects mentioned all types of knowledge – design, socio-cultural, political-institutional – in practice. In relation to their knowledge-in-action, they said that their design knowledge is mainly from their conventional architectural education. Their socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge is drawn from their conventional architectural education, *ad hoc* trainings and practice. CODI architects said their knowledge-in-action most often related to the integration of design knowledge and socio-cultural knowledge. The second source most often drawn on is the integration of design knowledge and political-institutional. The third is the integration of all three types of knowledge. Only one CODI architects mentioned design or socio-cultural knowledge alone. These findings demonstrate the multidimensional sources of knowledge of CODI architects. Comparably, CASE architects also mentioned the integration of all three types of knowledge most often. At the same time, CASE architects emphasized more on political-institutional knowledge than CODI architects.

Focusing on design knowledge, CODI and CASE architects said that they employed knowledge of basic architectural design in order to support their clients on technical issues in the participatory design process, such as:

- Basic design and site planning principles, such as, safety, building orientation, natural ventilation, lighting and climatic design
- Technical architectural drawings
- Low-cost building materials and construction
- Cost estimation and feasibility study
- Thailand building regulations and Housing Estate Act

All 17 CODI and CASE architects who talked about their role as supporters agreed that their job was to 'facilitate' the design process, not to make decisions for the clients. It is important to emphasize that their architectural design knowledge is not different from that of NHA architects. Their different professional values distinguish their approach to the use of their knowledge. In other words, while CODI and CASE architects employ similar design knowledge to 'support' their clients to make design decision for themselves, NHA architects employ it to 'control' the design process and product.

4.2 Socio-cultural Knowledge

Both CODI and CASE architects mentioned that they did not learn enough about socio-cultural knowledge concerning the urban poor from their conventional architectural education. Most of their socio-cultural knowledge is gained from reflections on their practice and the urban poor's vernacular wisdom. Their newly gained socio-cultural knowledge can be divided into four categories.

The first concerns the process of architectural design programming. CODI and CASE architects said that, from practicing as community architects, they learned a great deal about ways to acquire information about their clients or the user's needs in order to identify an appropriate functional design programme for a project. They said their work related to social mapping and dealt greatly with micro-scale details related to user's way of life. They learned to be more sensitive about user's needs when designing. These statements support Serageldin (1997) who stated that participation and empowerment make architectural profession more effective and sensitive.

The second category concerns basic needs and functions. CODI and CASE architects stated that, from practice, they learned a great deal about the urban poor's lifestyles which are different from place to place. Most community members who had informal livelihoods also required a flexible space to work in at home.

Third, CODI and CASE architects learned a great deal about small-space spatial design created by community members. The architects said that the urban poor's use of space encompassed high flexibility and adaptability.

Fourth, the architects gained knowledge from the informal settlements concerning use of local, cheap and discarded building material in a house design. As their work dealt greatly with on-site construction, they benefited immensely from informal or local wisdom of construction techniques from local community members.

4.3 Political-institutional Knowledge

As mentioned, political-institutional knowledge includes the knowledge of local capacity building and the acknowledgement of the communication process with local communities and community facilitation, people's organizational development and institutional management. This knowledge is not taught in conventional architectural schools. CODI and CASE architects only learned about this through *ad hoc* training and reflection on their practice. There are five sub-sets of political-institutional knowledge which CODI and CASE mentioned.

The first set is CODI and CASE architects' knowledge concerning communication for facilitation and dialogue with community members through the participatory design process.

> "We have to know ways to open a space, so different stakeholders can interact and exchange ideas. Their needs are abstract. The architect's job is to materialize those abstract needs through the dialogue with them" (CASE01)

The participatory design tools and techniques employed by CODI and CASE architects to facilitate and communicate are explored in the next chapter.

The second set of knowledge relates to training and building local capacity. CODI and CASE architects conducted training workshops for the community members in an attempt to build up and strengthen their local capacity on knowledge of basic architectural design so that the people would know enough to work with the architects and to make design decisions for themselves.

The third set of knowledge relates to supporting the development of people organization.

> "It is about using our knowledge of physical design to organize community members through participation. We use the participatory design process to gather people together. When people start to work together in groups, a certain level of organization and system emerges." (CODI01)

The fourth set of knowledge relates to supporting community bonds and expanding community networks. Although all 17 CODI and CASE architects mentioned that community bonds can be supported and strengthened through the participatory design process, only three of them acknowledged that community bonds and networks can also diminish through time, if no new supportive or catalytic interventions are inserted. The absence of this notion amongst CODI and CASE architects reflects their low-effectiveness in their participatory design process after the process is done. This is discussed in the next section with reflections from their clients.

The fifth set of knowledge focuses on CODI and CASE architects' notion of power relations within a community, the majority of CASE architects use majority voting as a tool to make decisions in a conflicting situation. However, they acknowledged that the existing power structure within a community could manipulate the result towards what the more powerful groups prefer. Thus, CODI and CASE architects increase the people's confidence and to encourage them to act for themselves through implementing small interventions. Moreover, the architects organize small working groups where the voices of minority groups, considering their class, position in a community and gender, can be heard.

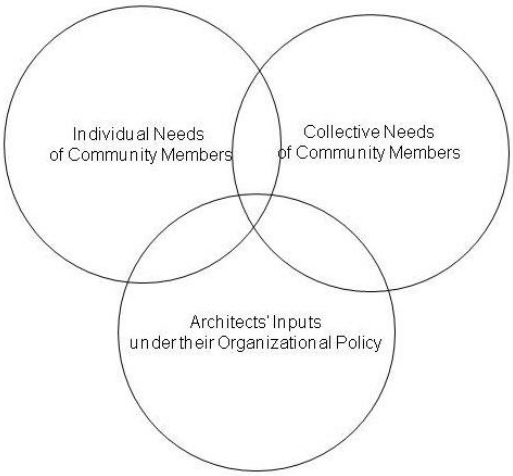
> "To transform a community, we cannot sustain the existing power structure. We have to transform those relationships. Architects cannot improve a community, if they do not understand this in their form making process." (KEY- Boonyabancha)

> "The more powerful are community leaders. The less powerful are those who have less income, social status in a community … or female members who may not feel confident to participate in a design and construction process which is perceived as a topic for men." (CASE01)

Therefore, CODI and CASE architects employed a number of participatory design tools and techniques with an attempt to deal with the imbalance in power relations within a community. There are also constraints in practice due to the ineffectiveness of CODI and CASE architects' knowledge related to power relations and gender. They are discussed in the next section with reflections from their clients.

Finally, in an attempt to facilitate participatory community dialogue amongst different actors, CODI and CASE architects' mentioned balancing three elements – architects' inputs under their organizational policy, identification of individual needs and identification of collective needs of community members – in a participatory design process, as Figure 7-8 shown below.

Figure 7-8: Three elements in a participatory design process



> "To live together as a community is not about adding up everyone's needs. It is an integration of small parts, not a summary… Then, the third layer is the architect who may see things which the locals did not see, especially foreseeing things in a longer term at a bigger scale." (CASE01)

In relation to architects' inputs, there is a complex integration of design, socio-cultural, political-institutional knowledge. Then, understanding the individual needs of community members requires architects to acknowledge community members' socio-cultural background – their way of life and livelihoods – in order to understand their constraints, so architects can design appropriate responses. Finally, dealing with the collective needs of community members means architects ought to comprehend political-institutional knowledge of how to work with community members through, as mentioned above, facilitation, dialogue, local capacity building, people-organization development, maintaining community bonds and expanding community networks and acknowledging complex power structure existing amongst stakeholders. However, there are challenges and constraints of CODI and CASE architects' knowledge to balance the three elements in practice. This is discussed in the next section with reflections from their clients.

4.4 Reflections from CODI and CASE Clients: Effectiveness of CODI and CASE Architects' Knowledge

As mentioned, the knowledge of CODI and CASE architects is complex and relates not only to design-related subjects. Therefore, there are a number of factors influencing the effectiveness of their knowledge. It is important to note that, unlike NHA architects, because CODI and CASE architects are concerned with participation and empowerment in the design process, their design knowledge can hardly be analyzed separately from their socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge. The analysis below is categorized into two sections. The first concerns the effectiveness of their design and socio-cultural knowledge. The second focuses on their design and political-institutional knowledge.

4.4.1 Design and Socio-cultural Knowledge

The research findings show that CODI and CASE architects' participatory site planning knowledge seems to be more effective than their house design. With respect to the site plan, the CODI and CASE architects employed participatory site planning with the three communities – CODI *Klong Lumnoon*, CODI *Suan Phlu* and CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* – in which the clients could choose the location of their plot of land and their neighbours. The research findings show that all CODI and CASE clients were satisfied with the community site plan. Most of them could well explain the reasons for and processes of the site plan more clearly than the house design. For example, only 4 out of 16 CODI *Suan Phlu* clients and 3 out of 10 CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients did not understand the site planning process, but the majority or 10 out of 16 CODI *Suan Phlu* clients and 9 out of 10 CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients said that their houses were designed 'by the architect'. In other words, the majority of CODI and CASE clients felt they were more involved in site planning than in the house design process. This is corresponds with the sentiments of a CASE architect who said that

> "Honestly, I did not know how to make a house design participatory. For site planning, it was more possible." (CASE07)

Focusing on house design, the research findings show that building and design additions implemented by the community members did not always materialize as the CODI and CASE architects planned and anticipated. The CODI *Klong Lumnoon* community is the most obvious case. The CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* community is the second. The factors which appear to be ineffectiveness in CODI and CASE architects' knowledge are poor dialogue facilitation in the participatory design process and inadequate understanding of their clients' needs, lifestyles, livelihoods and aspirations.

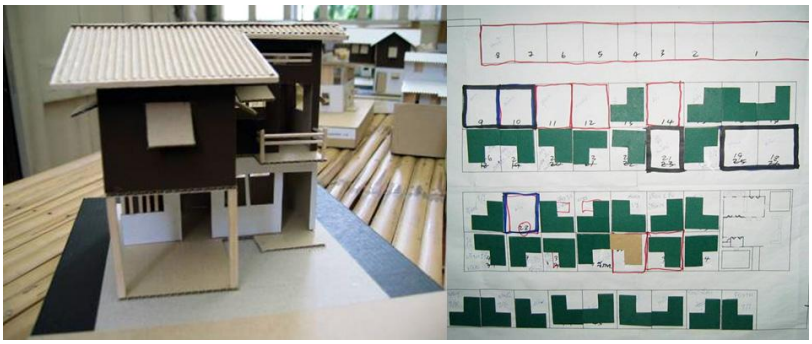
For CODI the *Klong Lumnoon* community, the L-shape house designed by the architect was seen by the clients as a strange, poor, 'out-of-date' and not a 'beautiful' design. While, the CODI architect's idea behind the design is the following:

> "First, the land size was very limited, so I designed an L-shape plan. With the plan, the clients could pair up to have shared space. The overall atmosphere would not be too crowded. Second, they did not have much savings. The house which I designed was small and affordable." (CASE01[4])

The majority or five out of six CODI Klong *Lumnoon* clients said that they did not like his design.

> "A good and beautiful house should have nine columns. The architect's design has only eight columns. It looks weird. It does not fit our traditional beliefs. It looks like the house of a poor teacher living in the countryside!" (CODIPJ103)

Figure 7-9: The unpopular L-shape house designed by the architect (CODI *Klong Lumnoon* community)



Source: CODI architects

At the end, each household designed their unit differently and built it separately. Some households shared the same building contractor. It is important to note that research observation show that their houses, especially those who were better-off, had a lot of influence from middle-class styles and trends in the use of materials, forms and decorations. The old and 'temporary' materials, such as timber, tents and scraps reminded them of the lower social status of living in informal settlements.

[4] CASE01 architect used to work for CODI to implement the *Klong Lumnoon* community project. After the project was finished, he went to work for CASE.

Although all CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients agreed that the new houses actually improved their lives – psychologically and physically – and they were satisfied with their houses. However, the majority or five out of six mentioned that they had difficulties in paying back the loans, because, as the CODI architect had claimed, their new houses are too big and thus over-budget.

> "I was not upset. It is ok that they did not follow the plans which we agreed on. The point is that they should learn from their mistakes, so they will not commit the same mistakes again. I do not mind. There is no final end in a project anyway. It is an ongoing learning process… as long as they learn." (CASE01)

The minority or only two out of six CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients agreed with the architect opinion that they had problems paying back the loans because they did not build the house according to the architect's design.

> "I thought the L-shape house as suggested by the architect was too small… but when I started to build my house, I realized that his design was not too small at all. I was not so used to a concrete house, so I miscalculated the construction cost… that was why I had to ask for extra loans from CODI" (CODIPJ105)

At the same time, the statement reflects that the clients did not have a complete understanding of the architect's design. In other words, their local capacity related to knowledge of basic architectural design and cost estimation was not strengthened through the participatory design process.

The other four CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients disagreed. Two of the four said that the architect's design was more expensive than their design. The other two said that the debt problems, loans from informal sources and nonperforming loans problems resulted from personal irresponsibility, not the house design. Furthermore, some clients used the loan received from CODI on other things, not the house.

The majority of CODI and CASE architects' clients preferred big concrete houses. Similarly, six out of seven CASE architects and nine out of 11 CODI architects said that:

> "Most of the time, we [architects] do not find their design beautiful. They like Classic architectural western styles, which are also very popular among the middle-class. Maybe we have to admit that the people do not really want just a column or just a house… but it is a symbol of their aspiration and social status." (CASE06)

Figure 7-10: Houses designed by CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients influenced by middle-class styles and trends

Figure 7-11: An example of a typical housing advertisement for the middle-class in Thailand to compare with the designs by CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients

Comparably, the research findings from the CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* community also supported the lack of acknowledgement by the CASE architect who implemented the project related to his clients' needs, lifestyles, livelihoods and aspirations. The CASE architect's design was a frame house, in which the clients were encouraged to fill up the walls with the old materials they had in order to save cost. Only 1 house out of the 66 houses used old timber. The rest preferred to use concrete.

Figure 7-12: The left image is the only house in the CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* community which filled the walls with old timber. The right image is a model of a frame house created by the architect.

Source: CASE architects (right)

Figure 7-13: Most CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* community members – poorer (right) and less poor (left) – preferred to use concrete over old timber.

It is important to note that the owner of the house who used old timber, felt embarrassed about her house:

> "My house is the cheapest. I felt embarrassed because my house is not as beautiful as the others', but I did not want to have debt. When I have more money, I would like to change it to a concrete house." (CASEPJ05)

The majority or 6 out of 10 CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients said that they understood the reason behind the frame house. The other four said they did not. Those who did not use old timber had different reasons. Six out of ten CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients referred to

old timber as a symbol of something ‘poor’ and ‘not beautiful’. The others mentioned practical reasons, such as, their timber was too old to be reused; it was faster and more convenient to hire builders to complete the building with concrete, which is the same material as the main structure; or they did not have the building skills.

With regard to CODI *Suan Phlu* community, the clients agreed to build their houses according to the CODI architects’ design. However, a commercial architect, who was invited by the CODI to finalize the design and simplify it for the construction phase, described the community architect’s schematic design as ‘unrealistic’ regarding construction and cost because of its non-standardized character. The community architect had divided house categories according to various types of livelihoods. However, none of the clients complained about the design changes proposed by the commercial architect.

> “The design changed a little, when the other architect [the commercial architect] came. It is true that now the house does not completely respond to our livelihoods, but our livelihoods are not that fixed anyway. The house, as it is, is flexible enough.” (CODIPJ201)

Figure 7-14: CODI *Klong Lumnoon* final design by the commercial architect (above) and a schematic design by the CODI community architect (below)

Source: CODI architects

4.4.2 Design and Political-institutional Knowledge

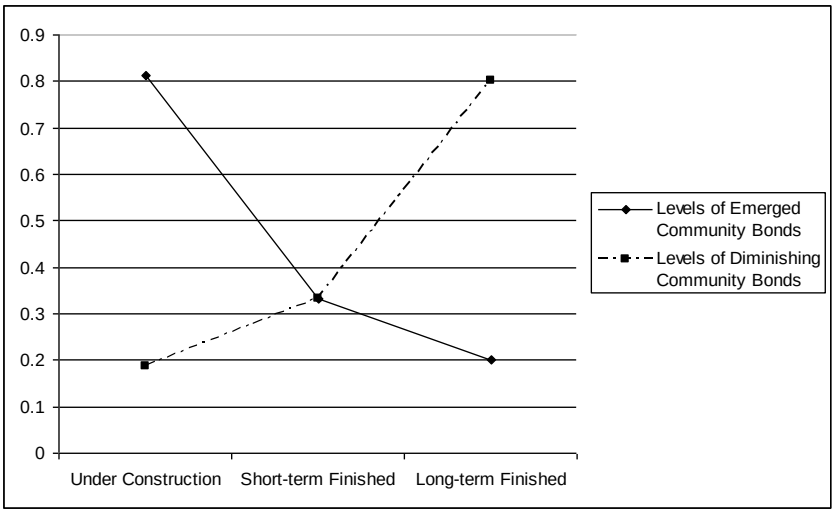
In relation to employing the design process as a means for local capacity building, people-organization development, the research findings confirm two issues. First, the community bonds and networks and power relations among community members at individual and collective levels to make decision for themselves can clearly be strengthened through a

participatory design process. Second, community bonds were clearly diminishing after the project was completed. CODI and CASE architects seemed to widely acknowledge the first statement, but not the latter.

From the research interviews with CODI and CASE architects' clients, community bonds, communication and the feeling of trust and safety amongst CODI and CASE architects' clients were a great deal more prevalent than with NHA *Rangsit Klong 3* clients. Six out of six CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients, 14 out of 15 members of the CODI *Suan Phlu* community, and six out of seven CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients said that they could trust their community members not to commit crimes. If there were thieves or if crimes were committed, they would be from outsiders and it would not be very difficult to identify them because they knew all the community members well.

The diagram below shows that the longer the projects took to complete, the less community members mentioned community building through the participatory process, and the more they complained or worried about diminishing community bonds after the project was completed. Figure 7-15 compares the diverse relationship between levels of community building and weakening community bonds through time.

Figure 7-15: Comparison of community building through and after participatory design process



With respect to the CODI *Suan Phlu* community in which all houses were nearly completed, the majority or 13 out of 16 clients stated that community bonds were strengthened through the participatory process and 3 out of 16 clients stated that community bonds may be weakened after the project is completed. For the short-term finished CODI *Klong Lumnoon* community, two out of six clients mentioned the emerging community bonds

and two out of six clients stated that community bonds were disappearing after the project was done. For the long-term finished CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* community, the majority or 8 out of 10 clients referred to diminishing community bonds after the project was completed and two of them mentioned emerging community bonds through the participatory process.

With respect to emerging community bonds, the majority or 13 out of 16 CODI *Suan Phlu* clients stated that they got to know their community members remarkably better. They felt closer and more positive about their neighbours. One client said that her personality changed dramatically because of the programme.

> "Before the *Baan Munkong* programme, I never helped anyone do community work. The programme changed me a lot. That is the best part. Now I know other community members. Not only did I get a house, but also many friends." (CODIPJ204)

These reflections are also harmonized with two out of six CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients. The research findings confirm that continued participation in other aspects of improving community members' living conditions is necessary. In other words, the participatory process cannot end when the project is completed.

Focussing on diminishing community bonds and networks, the research findings show that, based on clients' views, there are three dimensions of change. The majority of CODI and CASE architects did not seem to acknowledge these dimensions.

- Social dimensions. Eight out of eight CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients who mentioned that community bonds were weakening said that community members felt as if their social status was raised to middle class, so they behaved differently. They felt that many community members became more individualistic and competed to have a house which looked better or looked 'richer' than the others.

> "The physical conditions are better, but we are no longer united. No forgiveness or mercy." (CASEPJ04)

Another CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* client said that the lack of the need to stay together as a community came from the feeling that they thought they got what they wanted, which was to have a new house.

> "When we were in difficult situations, everyone had shared problems and one goal. Now there is no shared problem. It is more difficult to unite us or to

encourage the community members to participate in a meeting. We also do not care about the others as much." (CASEPJ03)

These reflections from CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients are similar to the experiences of CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients. Six out of six CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients said community members attended meetings less frequently since the project was finished. It was also difficult to find people to work for the community. People became busier and less interested in community work, unlike before the project was finished.

Four CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients mentioned that community leader's relatives and community leaders themselves worsened social relationships in the community because they became too powerful and broke community rules and regulations. CASEPJ07's opinions are similar to five CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients who spoke of increasing distrust between community members and community leaders over time after the project was completed because of decreased communication among them. Comparably, the community leader of CODI *Suan Phlu* community, who was respected and trusted by seven out of eight CODI *Suan Phlu* clients[5], mentioned the financial obstacles of spending too much time on community work.

"I stopped working for three years[6], because working for the community took a lot of time. I was a construction worker. I did not sub-contract any work in the project because I wanted to avoid distrust. I think it is worth it. Now the project is nearly finished. I do not think I can continue working as the leader so much longer. I need to work now. If I will not cheat or be corrupt, I have to leave the position to find money other ways." (CODIPJ201)

- Physical dimensions. Three out of eight CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients who mentioned that community bonds were weakening said that it was because of the new design of the houses and the site plan.

"When it was a slum, house boundaries were unclear. We shared walkways and water stands. I liked walking around and chatting with people. Now, things are developed. House boundaries are clearer, so I do not step in the territory of another's… which is fine. I prefer to be on my own." (CASEPJ05)

[5] The total number of CODI *Suan Phlu* interviewees is 16, but only eight persons were asked this question.
[6] His daughters received partial academic scholarships from an NGO. He received some financial support from his relatives and other community members.

> "When we lived in run-down timber houses, we seemed to love each other more. Now the site plan changed. We are separated into zones and do not see or talk to the others as often." (CASEPJ02)

- Financial dimensions. Two out of eight CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients who mentioned that community bonds were weakening said that community members did not have as much time to socialize anymore because they had to work harder to earn more income to pay rent. Before they paid very little to for the land they lived on. Another reason is because there are serious nonperforming loans problems within the project. Therefore,

> "Some people do not come to community meetings nowadays, because they did not pay their rent for months, so they are afraid community leaders would ask them for the rent." (CASEPJ03)

This acknowledgement of diminishing community bonds and networks considering social, physical and financial dimensions of changes is absent in most CODI and CASE architect knowledge. It may be useful to supplement this knowledge in an alternative architectural education.

Finally, with regard to employing a participatory design process as an end or for empowerment and the architects' knowledge related to power relations within a community, the research findings confirm that, CODI and CASE architects seemed to be sensitive on gender issues. They conducted different participatory design tools and techniques to deal with the imbalance of power relations amongst male and female community members as discussed in the next chapter. However, gender seemed to be an important variable influencing the way CODI and CASE clients perceived the roles of architects and their own roles.

On one hand, three out of three male CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients said that they understood the design process very well and they thought the architects did a fantastic job in supporting them and designing the houses and site plan together. Their statements implied the client's feeling of control over their own future, which is related to the idea of 'empowerment'.

> "Through participatory design process, I learned a lot about house design and site planning. The good thing was that we knew what would happen and how things would turn out to be. I could imagine my house clearly – the width, the length and the forms." (CASEPJ01)

Another reflection from a male client who was an active community member in house design and construction emphasized the importance of the learning process in the participatory process.

> "I think very few community members understood the programme. *Baan Mankong* is not about *Baan* [means 'a house' in Thai], but learning together. I want other members to engage and critically express their thoughts, not merely accept things like they did. It is true that they came to the meeting, but they came merely to listen, not to think or express any thought." (CODIPJ208)

Two out of three CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients who thought that they knew more than architect were male.

By contrast, one female CODI *Klong Lumnoon* client stated that:

> "I did not go to the community design meeting so often. My husband did. It was more for men. I do not know so much about the house design process." (CODIPJ104)

Examples from the CODI *Suan Phlu* community, where six interviewees are men and ten interviewees are female, clearly show that men had a better understanding of the design and the construction process than women. Four out of six male CODI *Suan Phlu* clients said that they understood the design and construction process very well. Seven out of ten female CODI *Suan Phlu* clients said they did not understand much, but they did not bother to ask because they thought architects and male community leaders must know better than them. For the female clients, the architect had to lead more and easily gained compliance from them, while the architect and the male clients could work well together. Some examples of statements from the seven female CODI *Suan Phlu* clients are

> "In community meetings, the architect and community leaders would ask our opinions… but I would not want to argue with them. I just wanted to be helpful by agreeing with what they said, although many times I did not understand everything." (CODIPJ209)

> "Architect must know how to do his job. Few people understood the design. Everyone just wanted to get the process done." (CODIPJ214)

Comparably, two male CODI *Suan Phlu* clients agreed with the statements above and said that although they thought they understood everything well in the participatory design process, they represented only 10% of the people who understood it. For the male clients, the architect seemed to listen to their needs and designed the house and community site plan accordingly.

Reflections from CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients are similar to CODI housing projects regarding gender issues which influence the perception of their role and the architects. Only one out of seven interviewed female CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients stated that she understood the physical and financial reasons behind the design well. Two out of seven female CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients said that although they understood the design and felt satisfied with the design of houses and site plan, they did not want to express their thoughts in the community meeting. The majority or four out of seven female CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients stated that they did not understand the design very well. However, they all felt satisfied with the design of the houses and site plan, and they did not want to express their thoughts in community meetings. All of them left decision making responsibilities to the architect and male community leaders.

Reflections from female clients raised many issues. First, they revealed the dependency of women's perceptions on men and architects when it came to house design and construction. It is important to point out that three out of seven female CODI *Suan Phlu* clients who said they did not really understand the participatory design process were, in fact, some of the most active and responsible members in the community committee. In other words, they were one of the community leaders. The other four were not active community members. Therefore, the findings show that their gender has more influence on how they perceive themselves and the role of architects in the house design and building process than their position in the community. Second, architects and community leaders seem to exclude female clients from decision making in community and house design matters. Third, female community members' perceptions support the role of an architect as 'expert' without any doubts or critical awareness.

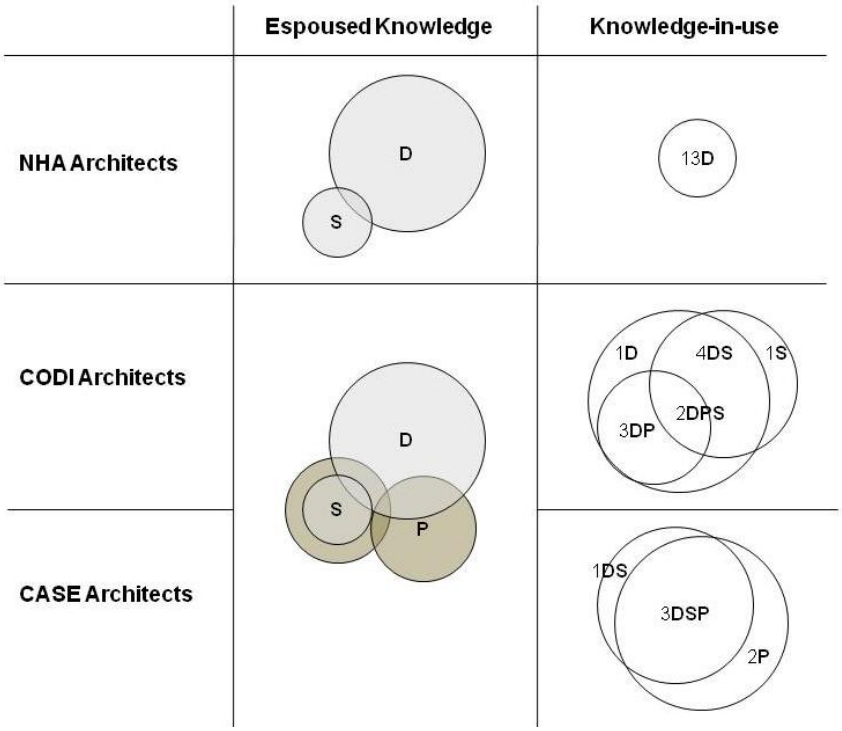
5. The Three Roles of Architects and Comparison of their Knowledge

The research findings show complex comparisons and relationships between NHA, CODI and CASE architects' knowledge at three levels. First, the new professionalism of CODI and CASE architects' espoused knowledge encompasses a more diverse set of knowledge than that of NHA architects. It contains design, socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge, as CODI and CASE architects gained more knowledge from different sources –

architectural school, *ad hoc* training and everyday practice. Second, the new professionalism of CODI and CASE architects' knowledge-in-use also encompasses a more diverse set of knowledge than NHA architects. CODI and CASE architects widely expanded their areas of knowledge by integrating their design knowledge with socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge in practice. Third, NHA architects' knowledge-in-use is less diverse than what they were trained in at architectural school. This implies deskilling NHA architects in practice. On the other hand, it is difficult to compare whether CODI and CASE architects' design, socio-cultural or political-institutional espoused knowledge is more or less diverse than their knowledge-in-use. To say the least, all the three areas of knowledge expanded and interacted into a new balance in practice. Figure 7-16 below compares NHA, CODI and CASE architects' espoused knowledge and knowledge-in-use.

Comparing NHA, CODI and CASE architects' knowledge in Figure 7-16 below with their values related to their roles in Figure 6-1 from the previous chapter, there is a clear connection between the role of architects acting as providers and design knowledge, as shown in NHA architects' theory-in-use related to their values and knowledge. CODI architects who play roles in practice primarily as supporters and marginally as catalyst encompasses a complex integration of design, socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge in practice with a greater emphasis on design and socio-cultural knowledge. CASE architects who practice primarily as catalyst and slightly as supporters encompass all three areas of knowledge, with a greater emphasis on political-institutional knowledge. Therefore, Table 7.1 below summarizes the three roles of architects, their responsibility and knowledge. Finally, it is important to notice the lack of acknowledgement and understanding of NHA, CODI and CASE architects concerning multi-disciplinary and other team workers' knowledge, such as, public health workers, sociologists, lawyers, engineers, planners, social entrepreneurs and environmentalists. The only mentioned team workers' knowledge is community organizers and dialogue facilitators.

Figure 7-16: Comparing NHA, CODI and CASE architect's espoused knowledge and knowledge-in-use[7]



D = Design knowledge

S = Socio-cultural knowledge

P = Political-institutional knowledge

= Knowledge gained from architectural school

= Knowledge gained from *ad hoc* training

= Knowledge-in-use (an integration of knowledge gained from architectural school, *ad hoc* training and everyday practice)

[7] The architects' knowledge-in-use is drawn from data gained from the research's semi-structure interviews with them. On the other hand, the researcher illustrates the architects' espoused knowledge from a mix of the literature review and the research's semi-structure interviews. Thus, it is not applicable to quantify numbers in the figure.

Table 7.1: The three roles of architects and their knowledge

Roles and Responsibilities	Knowledge
Architect acting as provider: Control (Focusing on architects) • Determining basic infrastructure and facilities for communities • Designing community houses and site planning	**Design** • Basic design and site planning principles, such as, safety, building orientation, natural ventilation, lighting and climatic design • Technical architectural drawings • Low-cost building materials and construction • Cost estimation and feasibility studies • Thailand building regulations and Housing Estate Act
Architect acting as supporter: Support (Focusing on architects, community members and other stakeholders) • Facilitating dialogue amongst stakeholders • Balancing individual and collective needs of community members with inputs of architects under their organizational policy in a participatory design process • Building up local capacity of community members towards basic architectural design principles • Supporting people-organization development • Maintaining community bonds and expanding community networks	**Design** • All as mentioned above • Acknowledgement of participatory design process. **Socio-cultural** • Sensitive user's needs in architectural design programming • Urban poor's lifestyle and livelihoods • Flexibility and adaptability in small-space spatial design • Cheap and discarded building materials • Local or informal construction techniques **Political-institutional** • Community facilitation and dialogue versus the three elements in a participatory design process • Local capacity building • People-organization development • The emergence and diminishing of community bonds networks • Power relations amongst stakeholders
Architect acting as catalyst: Empower (Focusing on community members) • Raising awareness and self-confidence of community members • Encouraging community members to collectively act for themselves • Encouraging community members to reflect on their action	**Political-institutional** • Community facilitation and dialogue versus the three elements in a participatory design process • Local capacity building • People-organization development • The emergence and diminishing of community bonds and networks • Power relations amongst stakeholders

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Chapter 8: Use and Perceptions of the Skills of Architects

1. Introduction

Referring to Chapter 3, with regard to the new architectural skills in relation to the architecture of empowerment, Serageldin (2000) stated that working with poor communities is similar to working with wealthy clients with respect to engaging in dialogue, which is often argumentative, and listening to their needs. At the same time, this researcher argues that there is an extra skill, participatory design skill, which distinguishes architects who are designing 'for' and those who are designing 'with' poor urban communities. This chapter illustrates, compares and discusses NHA, CODI and CASE architects' skills, including their non-participatory / participatory design skills and their skills related to architectural design, socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge.

As mentioned, for this research, 'skill' does not mean 'expertness' in the normative sense of professionals, but is defined as the capability of practitioners to effectively act and to improvise in unpredictable situations. The chapter explores Argyris and Schon's (1974) and Schon's (1983) reflective practice focusing on 'double-loop' learning in skills, which occurs when practitioners become researchers into their own practice engaging in a continuing process of self-education encompassing knowing-in-action, reflection-in-action and reflection on reflection-in-action (Schon, 1987). While Chapter 6 discusses different architects' approach to reflective learning related to their values, this chapter illustrates examples of CODI and CASE tools and techniques employed to support their values towards reflective practice.

The findings are analysed from semi-structure interviews with NHA, CODI and CASE architects additionally with reflections from their clients to investigate the effectiveness of the skills used. It is important to emphasize that the skills of the architect are greatly influenced by their professional values and knowledge. NHA, CODI and CASE architects share some similar design tools and techniques. However, they employ their design skills for different aims, as their values are not the same. As mentioned, this research argues that architects acting as providers use their architectural design skills to design for their clients. Moreover, while architects acting as supporters employ participation as a means for project efficiency and effectiveness and local capacity building, architects acting as catalysts use participation as an ends for community empowerment in which architects encourage people to believe in themselves, to act collectively for themselves and to reflect on their actions. In conclusion, different tools and techniques are explored and the relationship amongst their roles, skills, examples of tools and techniques and aims are summarized.

2. NHA Architects' Skills

As mentioned in the previous Chapter, NHA divided work responsibilities into different departments. Twelve out of twelve NHA architects interviewed said that they knew and contributed very little to the house design. Therefore, the main skills of NHA architects relate to site planning. In this respect, all interviewed NHA architects mentioned that their planning design skills involved basic community/housing site planning procedures in line with the TOR (see also Chapter 7.)

The work which NHA architects showed to the researcher looked similar to general architectural drawings generated from computer-aided-design programmes, in which architects, draftsmen and engineers are generally literate.

> "I designed community site plans in the way we [architects] studied at architectural schools… There are two principles. First, we follow the TOR strictly. Then, we use our personal artistic competence to make site plans look beautiful." [NHA06]

At the same time, as mentioned in the previous chapter, some reflections from NHA, CODI and CASE architects implied that NHA architects underwent some sort of de-skilling.

> "Because of their organizational policy, they merely design with reference to their standards. The positive thing [for NHA architects] is that their work is not difficult. The negative thing is that I think they did not make the most of their architectural profession." [CODI01]

Half of the CODI architects mentioned that the work of NHA architects are not different from the work of commercial architects because the work of NHA architects does not include a participatory process and does not respond to the user's needs.

> "NHA architects' work is similar to commercial architects' or even less difficult. They are more like draftsmen or technicians, who may visit a site for a few days, then come back to their office to design. They may not meet house owners because the design brief and requirements are given. They mainly focus on technical issues. Their roles are linear and clear." [CASE07]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the conventional approach under the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme, the NHA architects would design a community site plan using prototype houses designed by other departments. The turn-key approach requires even less architectural design skills, as NHA architects would merely act as 'consultants' and check site plans designed by the private contractors.

From a different viewpoint, the minority or 5 out of 13 NHA architects said that to design for the urban poor is more difficult and required better design knowledge and skills than commercial architects who design for the rich, due to the many limitations of the design brief – such as budget, area requirements and land size.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, although a few NHA architects mentioned their espoused-theory towards the architects' roles as supporter and catalyst, none of them mentioned their skills related to the two roles at all. Their skills focus mainly on the provider role employing design skills such as

- Site planning using computer-aided-design programmes and hand sketch
- Architectural presentation and communication using two and three-dimensional architectural drawing and scaled model and 1-1 prototype house.

Regarding the isolated nature of their practice and team work, the majority of (five out of seven) NHA architects said that they worked mainly with engineers and architects in other departments. Less than half of the NHA architects (three out of seven) mentioned working with NHA economists on feasibility studies and private contractors. Only one out of seven NHA architects referred to working with social workers, but in a very vague way. However, besides communicating and working with staff within and between different teams, NHA architects also attempted to communicate with their potential clients. They managed to construct prototype houses of the *Baan Eua Arthorn* Programme on a 1:1 scale at the NHA to facilitate better understanding of their potential clients, so they could experience the space of the prototype houses in actual dimensions. This technique is also widely used among commercial architects working for private developers when designing housing projects for the middle-class. Although CODI and CASE architects, who mainly play the roles of supporter and catalyst in practice, also employ the same techniques, they have different aims. This is discussed in the next sections when analysing CODI and CASE architects' skills.

Similar to other NHA architects' tools and techniques, the NHA house prototype exhibition facilitates one-way communication. Although it can encourage better understanding of the people about the house design, there is no dialogue amongst the architects and the clients. The people's local capacity to understand architectural design also remains the same, because the aim of the tools and techniques is to communicate and represent the 'product' or 'outcome' of architects' idea rather than employing them as a means for supporting or catalysing a learning 'process'.

3. CODI Architects' Skills

CODI architects were trained by CASE architects and they share many participatory design tools and techniques. However, their tools and techniques are slightly different because of the different nature of their organization and organizational policies. When CODI architects were asked to identify essential skills for architects working with poor urban communities the following five major skills emerged (ranked in order of the most often referred to the least): communication, improvisation, negotiation, observation (and listening), and people-organization skills. Communication, observation and listening relate to socio-cultural knowledge as they support architects to work with clients and develop appropriate architectural design. Improvisation, negotiation and organizing people-organization relate to political-institutional knowledge and are absent in conventional architectural education. This is discussed below with examples of tools and techniques in the next chapter.

First, communication skills for CODI architects are different from NHA architects. The former emphasizes two-way communication supporting the emergence of dialogue and learning process amongst architects and community members.

Second, CODI and CASE architects put a great emphasis on improvisation as a skill. It is important to emphasize that this skill relates to the architects' ability to reflect-in-action which is an element of reflective practice.

> "[D]esign and drawing skills are minor. The most important thing is to be able to solve problems on site, such as construction, savings and people problems." (CODI07)

Third, in relation to negotiation skills, similar to CASE architects, the majority of CODI architects said that they would not directly involve themselves in conflicts in the communities, but that they would let community members negotiate things by themselves. Half of the CODI architects preferred to facilitate small meetings within a community and rely on the majority vote as a way to manage conflict.

> "Majority vote is accounted to be the final conclusion, even if it is 51%." (CODI07)

> "Those who did not come to the meeting cannot argue. We have to respect majority vote. We always do our best to arrange a meeting on a weekend. Those who come always come and those who do not come simply have never come, no matter what day and time it is." (CODI05)

As mentioned in the previous Chapter, CODI and CASE architects acknowledged complex power relations in a participatory design process, thus they employed different tools and techniques to work with power relations amongst community members. With respect to the majority vote, CODI architects mentioned challenges that resulted from powerful groups trying to dominate a community.

> "Those who have their voices heard are often the community leaders...However, if community leaders are really persistent and powerful, there is nothing we can do. We have to accept it because they [community leaders] are the ones who actually manage and run the process. They are persons who will push other community members to the goal… What architects could do may be to suggest to the minority once the house is finished how to adapt and extend the house to suit their different needs." (CODI10)

Reflections from CODI architects' clients confirm the challenges of unbalanced power relations within a community in practice. Ten out of the thirteen CODI *Suan Phlu* clients who said they understood and participated fully in the site planning process are a part of the community committee and leaders. In contrast, three out of three CODI *Suan Phlu* clients, who stated that the site planning was not participatory, were not members of the community committee.

> "Because I was not a part of the community committee, I was not invited to the site planning meeting with the architect." (CODIPJ211)

However, a client who was one of the leaders argued that

> "[I]f someone said that we only invited the leaders and committee members to site planning meetings, it means that they just did not come to the meetings. At the beginning, the meetings were for everyone. It was later when we started building the actual houses that we only asked group leaders to come to a meeting as everything was rather agreed on and settled." (CODIPJ212)

Fourth, according to semi-structure interviews with CODI architects, observation and listening mean searching for useful information or resources in a community. It concerns looking for 'clues' that represent existing power relationships within a community, searching for talented community members or observing existing informal community networks in order to build up or strengthen existing local capacity. Observation and listening encourage architects to learn from the people before making decision with the people.

Fifth, organizing people organization relates a great deal to CODI architects' work with CODI social workers supporting community members to form saving groups as a means to strengthen community bonds and networks.

Similar to CASE architects, there are a mix of conventional architectural design skills, participatory design tools and techniques and non-design related skills in the practice of CODI architects. All CODI and CASE architects mentioned they employed site planning skills, although 6 out of 11 CODI architects used the CODI house catalogue as a guideline instead of designing a new house plan. They also mentioned the deskilling of their architectural design through time. At the same time, all CODI and CASE architects agreed that the standard architectural design skills and some tools and techniques they learned in architectural school are a useful basis for their participatory design skills. These skills helped them provide basic infrastructure for a community and a basic structure for a house. Examples of standard architectural design skills include site planning and house designing, while examples of tools and techniques, include computer-aided-design programmes and hand sketch.

The researcher explored CODI architects' relevant skills and their challenges in practice related to a participatory design. The topics are divided according to the aims of each set of skill, tools and techniques.

3.1 Roles, Responsibilities and Team Work

Unlike CASE architects, none of the CODI architects emphasized the necessity for capturing the attention of community members for their project. This finding implies three issues. First, it is not necessary to get the attention of community members because CODI architects were only working under the *Baan Mankong* Programme which had clear working steps and objectives. Clients have a better understanding of these objectives compared to those of CASE architects who sometimes do not have a clear plan of how a project will turn out from the beginning. Second, CODI architects also represent a governmental body. Thus, it is easier for community members to understand their roles and aims. Third, CODI architects work as team with CODI social organizers so their role is clearly defined. It is the latter group who usually visit the community before the architects to inform community members about the *Baan Mankong* programme. In other words, it is the CODI social workers' responsibility to get the attention of and to organize community members. However, there are disadvantages and challenges in CODI's method of teamwork.

> "There are three major teams in the field – social organizers, savings group staff and architects. The steps are clear and our roles are separately defined. First, the social

> organizers prepare and provide basic knowledge about the *Baan Mankong* programme. Second, another team supports savings groups. And then, community members are ready for the design process. It is OK to divide responsibilities, but often there is no link of information amongst us. I think the three steps should be combined. All three teams should go to the site together at the same time. We hardly did that in the past. Thus, there was much misunderstanding amongst the working teams. The teams may emphasize different issues in each phase, but it is important that every team understands the process as a whole." (CODI10)

> "The aims of the architect team often conflict with the aims of the other teams. Our work is not synchronized as a whole." (CODI03)

All CODI architects agreed that the work of the three teams should be more integrated. Four out of eleven CODI architects proposed that

> "[i]deally, a person should be capable of working on the three phases – social organizing, supporting savings group and designing a house and a site plan. As architects, we should be able to support community members in every aspect." (CODI07)

Comparably, one CODI architect said:

> "I want to be more capable to work on the social organizer's work – supporting the organization of community members." (CODI04)

However, it is doubtful to what extent can one person or profession be responsible for every activity? Although, multidisciplinary knowledge and skills are important in the new architectural professionalism of community architects, this raises questions and challenges to the content of alternative architectural education. One CODI architect clearly stated that he preferred to deal only with design matters and leave the work of supporting savings groups and social organization to the other two teams. To say the least, teamwork is an important skill which most CODI architects did not broadly prioritize.

3.2 Understanding Architectural Terminology, Spatial Dimensions and the Use of Space

Similar with CASE architects, CODI architects avoided English and architectural terminology. Using scaled-models is claimed by 5 out of 11 CODI architects to be the most

efficient way to communicate with community members, especially those with no building skills.

> “Only skilled builders in a community will understand perspective and architectural drawings.” (CODI02)”

Three out of six CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients confirmed that scaled models were the most useful in helping them understand the design. The use of two- and three-dimensional ways to communicate architectural terminology, spatial dimensions and space with community members relates to the architects’ role of supporter because they increase the local capacity of community members to be able to make decisions about house design by themselves.

Figure 8-1: A perspective drawing done by a CODI architect showing relatively clear materials used and house dimensions on a human scale

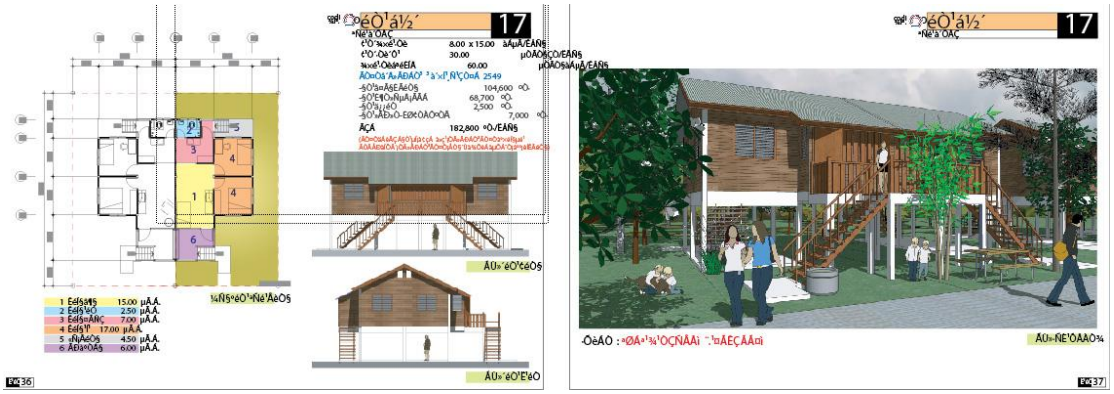
Source: CODI architects

Figure 8-2: House models informing details of prices, plot sizes and functional areas

3.3 Describing Basic Design and Making End-Results Explicit as a Guideline

CODI architects said that it is important to make the project as clear as possible for community members. A clear understanding will help convince them to take part in the process and understand the different steps towards the goals. Six out of eleven CODI architects used the CODI house catalogue as a main tool and technique for a guideline.

Figure 8-3: CODI house catalogue



Source: CODI architects

The house catalogue provides 50 different house types with plans, elevations, perspectives, spatial dimensions, area requirements and prices. The prototypes were designed based on CODI architects' combined years of experiences. They said that the house designs are usually similar due to limited budget and land size. The catalogue is a new tool, which CODI architects recently introduced to facilitate a more efficient programme with respect to time and output. The architects' role when using the catalogue is to explain the design and architectural drawings of each plan, so the community members can choose the plans they prefer from the 50 plans. Overall, most CODI architects acknowledged the disadvantages of using the house catalogue as a tool, while simultaneously agreeing that it is a practical tool.

> "It will take more time and budget, if community members want something outside the plans, as we will have to make new architectural drawings. They can adjust the plans a little bit to suit their needs. Personally, I think the 50 plans we provided are diverse enough." (CODI04)

> "Architects cannot go to every site all the time. Therefore, sometimes other working teams need the house catalogue to start talking with community members. The catalogue is used merely as a guideline. Certainly, there are advantages and

disadvantages, but we have to work quickly to reach the scale and to respond to CODI policy." (CODI01)

[However], the catalogue can be impractical, if it means community members cannot choose something outside the provided plans." (CODI10)

Referring to the previous Chapter, it is important to point out that, although there are many challenges in using the catalogue as a tool, it clearly represents CODI architects' values and acknowledgement related to quantitatively scale-up the idea of participation and empowerment in housing policy through standardization and routinization. This is in contrast with the CASE architects' approach and is discussed in the next section.

3.4 Revealing and Integrating Different Interests

For site planning, all CODI architects said they employed 'planning workshops' to design community site plans with community members. All CODI architects used the same technique as CASE architects which is to divide community members into small groups of their choice and ask community members to cut two-dimensional pieces of paper in different colours and put them on a scaled plotted site to identify the plot they choose, normally located near their relatives and friends.

Figure 8-4: A planning workshop for community site planning facilitated by CODI architects

Source: CODI architects

Figure 8-5: A model of community site planning done by community members

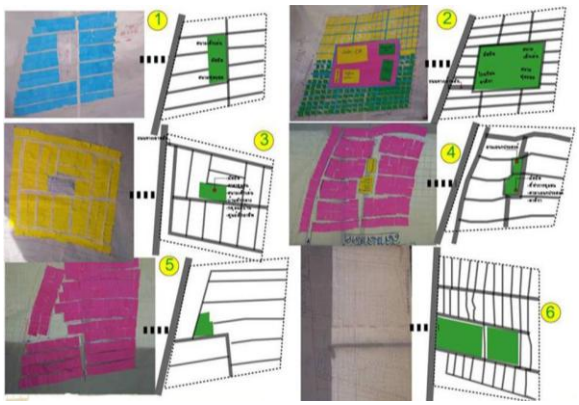
There are some basic steps in CODI planning workshops for site planning. First, different groups of community members including men and women discuss their ‘dream’ community site plan in their small group. Then they draw and present their ‘dream’ community site plan in a community meeting and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each plan. The architect’s role is to facilitate the dialogue and question or point out some key basic design principles. After the meeting, architects integrate all the site plans designed by different groups into collective schematic community site plans. The architects organize further meetings with community members to discuss the site plan in order to finalize the design. In relation to the final design, planning infrastructure and community facilities are the architect’s responsibility. Reflections from CODI architects’ clients confirmed the conflictive nature of community meetings and participatory site planning workshops.

> “Site planning process was a headache, because many people had different ideas. However, once we settled all conflicts, it is worth it.” (CODIPJ202)

Figure 8-6: Community members presenting their dream site plans

Source: CODI architects

Figure 8-7: Architects' drawings pointing out advantages and disadvantages of each plan

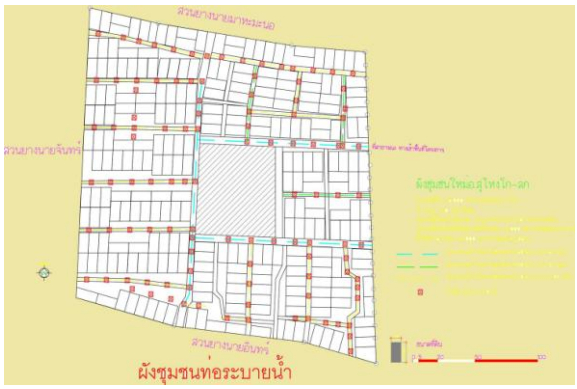


Source: CODI architects

Figure 8-8: A collective community site plan designed by CODI architects

Source: CODI architects

Figure 8-9: Basic infrastructure designed by CODI architects



Source: CODI architects

For house design, the majority (6 out of 11) of CODI architects used the CODI house catalogue as a tool as discussed in the previous section. The minority used the old technique

– ‘dream-house’ planning workshop – which is to ask community members to draw and/or make models of their dream houses. After that, the architects categorized the dream houses into a few types. Finally, they drew new plans based on the aspirations of community members.

> “The house plans I drew are used merely as a tool to start a discussion process. This is different from how we were trained at architectural school, where architectural drawings are supposed to be finished as a representation of ideas and design concepts.” (CODI02)

Looking back over his career, one CODI architect mentioned the phases around which he adapted and reflected on his participatory tools and techniques.

> “At the beginning of my career, I used the dream-house technique. The outcome was that the people were confused and copied the drawings of the others, so I thought this technique may not always work. The second technique I employed with another community is that I observed and sketched houses in a community to understand their spatial requirements better. And then, I proposed new house plans to them. I was more a leader in this method. The result is that they agreed with almost everything I said. There were few interactions from them. As I evaluated the two techniques, when I started working on a new community, I tried out a new method. I intentionally made inappropriate house designs, such as putting a toilet on the second floor or designing an impractical roof form in monsoon areas. Community members extensively reacted and criticised because they would not want to live in such a badly designed house.” (CODI10)

In other words, provocative and purposeful ‘mistakes’ could catalyse more interaction of the community members. However,

> “I thought this method was the right one until I used it with another community; it did not work. Community members agreed with the badly-designed plans! It was because they could not wait anymore and they really wanted to have a new house plan as quickly as possible.” (CODI10)

It is clear that different communities require different participatory design tools and techniques and this depends on the skills of the architects to reflect and improvise under unpredictable circumstances. At the same time, it is important to understand the different contexts of clients and their different needs and interests.

Planning workshops for site plan and house design are used as a tool to reveal and integrate architects' inputs with different needs of community members at individual and collective levels through dialogue. In relation to reflections from CODI architects' clients, all CODI *Klong Lumnoon* clients were highly satisfied with the site plan where they could choose the location of their plot by themselves. They were satisfied with working in small groups, in which they freely chose the members, who were often their friends and relatives.

In relation to reflective practice, the learning process of this method supports reflective practice of community members, as it encourages the people to reflect on their actions and opinions through dialogue with their peers. Planning workshops can be used in both the architects' roles of supporter and catalyst. In relation to the supporter role, the aims of the architects' skills are to provide information concerning basic design principles, facilitate dialogue and learning process amongst different actors including the architects themselves, reveal different needs through small group meetings and balance the three elements in participatory design process as mentioned in the previous Chapter. At the same time, in the role of catalyst, planning workshops encourage people to question their reality and to think about their problems, potentials – strengthening the realization of their 'power from within' – and exercising their 'power to' find solutions by working as a group – increasing their 'power with'. This implies a link to empowerment of community members at individual, relational and collective levels.

3.5 Seeing the Extraordinary in the Ordinary

As mentioned in Chapter 2, fatalism and self-depreciation of the oppressed are one of the challenges of empowerment (Freire, 1972). CODI architects acknowledged this and experienced the obstacles in practice. As mentioned in the previous Chapter, community members often choose to build their houses disregarding the design agreed with CODI and CASE architects.

> "Community members did not know or appreciate the local capacity or the potential of the houses they already have. They all want a big concrete house." (CODI06)

One CODI architects made computer-aided-design graphics to make slum houses look different.

> "I just changed a few materials and made it [a house in a community] look more organized. When I showed the drawings to community members at first, they said it looked very beautiful. They were very surprised when I told them that it is a house which belongs to one of their neighbours." (CODI09)

The idea behind this tool is to encourage community members to see their ordinary everyday in a different light. Another tool is to support them to understand themselves better regarding their existing house requirements. Five out of eleven CODI architects asked community members to sketch their current houses.

> "This is to make them understand their own area requirements, space-use and problems better. And then, I will explain to them the advantages of their existing design. Basically, I make their creativity in design more explicit to them." (CODI09)

Figure 8-10: Community members measuring dimensions of their houses

3.6 Supporting the Organization of the People and Increasing their Confidence

Similar to CASE architects, CODI architects supported small interventions with attempts to mobilise the better organization of community members and increase their self confidence. The only difference is that, as CODI architects only work under the *Baan Mankong* Programme, all of them use the savings groups as a tool with all communities. The architects are working with the CODI savings group staff. All CODI architects emphasized that savings groups were merely a tool to support the organization of people and not an end in itself.

> "Some community members misunderstood that what they have to do is to save money to reach 10% of the project cost and then they will get new houses. They merely think of CODI as an organization that offers low-interest loans. That upsets me a lot." (CODI02)

> "Participation does not mean that the people just save money and we design for them." (CODI04)

> "The point is that the people should learn how to work together as a group, manage and solve their own problems." (CODI07)

At the same time, through the savings group activities, community members and architects also know more about the affordability of a community. Thus, this shapes the type and form of new houses and infrastructure. The learning process of this method is two-way between CODI architects and community members. Not only do community members start to act for themselves and learn more about their collective 'power to' manage saving groups by themselves, but CODI architects also learn about the organization of the people and can observe the emerged social networks within a community which is useful information for their design process.

Similar to the use of the CODI house catalogue, savings groups became a routine in a participatory process of the *Baan Mankong* programme with an attempt to address informal settlement problems at scale, a consideration which CASE architects disregard. Organizing a savings group as a means for upgrading housing reflect CODI's concern with both quantitative and qualitative dimensions of scaling up. While standardization allows work process to operate faster and thus to quantitatively scale-up more easily, linking housing processes with financial management supports the qualitatively scale-out participation and empowerment in multidisciplinary practice.

Not only did all CASE architects disagree with CODI policy on the quantitative approach to scaling up, but five out of seven CASE architects also did not value the idea of using a savings group as a standard tool to start a project.

> "I do not think they [community members] have to save…a savings group is just one tool out of many other tools to organize a community. It cannot be applied to all." (CASE06)

3.7 Local Capacity Building concerning Design and Construction Skills

The majority (8 out of 11) CODI architects mentioned skills training programmes for local craftsmen/women as an important tool. Due to the lack of competent community architects and the large scale of the *Baan Mankong* upgrading programme, the CODI supported the establishment of networks of *"Chang Chumchon"*, meaning "local community craftsmen/women" in Thai. This is a community network of masons, carpenters, plumbers, electricians and skilled construction workers who live in poor communities (CODI, 2008). Not only is this a helpful technical support mechanism, but it is also a job creation scheme and a

collective business for communities. Many community members gained construction skills through the on-site training, designing and building of their own community and started taking on construction jobs outside. Up until now, the *Chang Chumchon* network has helped to build 38 upgrading projects in 18 cities covering more than 5,500 units. The CODI (2008) claimed that it cost half price, if the people did the construction work by themselves, because private contractors usually added 15-30% of profit on top of the construction cost.

> "Our [architects'] job is not to build houses, but to 'build' craftsmen who can replace us." (CODI02)

> "We try to discover 'diamonds' [skilful craftsmen/women] in each community and train them regarding building standards and design principles." (CODI11)

> "Due to the workload, architects cannot work alone. We need local craftsmen, so they can scale up the results by themselves in the long run." (CODI09)

There are different levels of local craftsmen networks – community, city, province and region. It is important to note that the research findings show that local skills training is both an ends and means to community empowerment. On the one hand, it concerns the belief in the people's right to take control over their lives and thus to strengthen their 'power from within' in order to feel confident about themselves. On the other hand, it concerns the necessity to utilize the people's 'power to' help the State and practitioners solving the large scale slum problems.

3.8 Learning from other Communities

Three out of eleven CODI architects mentioned a 'site visit' to finished pilot projects or other working projects of the *Baan Mankong* Programme as a way to facilitate learning and the better understanding of community members related to the participatory working process. Not only do 'site visits' give a clear picture of how their own project may turn out so they are more convinced to participate, but it is also easier for community members to communicate with their peers. If their peers could do it, the community members tend to believe that they can also do it. This is part of building up the people's self confidence process.

> "Finished projects became a learning centre for the others concerning the design of houses and community site plans, construction, savings groups management and administration techniques." (CODI01)

> "The chosen community which they visit can be a successful or a problematic one. There are lessons learned from both types." (CODI07)

This method supports reflection on reflection-in-action which is an element in reflective practice. In other words, it supports community members learning from experiences – both successes and mistakes – about the improvisation of their peers. CODI architects also indirectly learned from the effectiveness of the result of their practice.

4. CASE Architects' Skills

When CASE architects were asked to identify essential skills for architects working with poor urban communities the following five major skills emerged (ranked in order of the most often referred to the least): communication, observation (and listening), improvisation, people-organization skills and negotiation. It is important to note that CASE architects placed a higher priority on observation and listening skills than CODI architects.

> "Every little thing we saw and heard is information. Little details could lead to bigger issues. People, garbage, space and activities raise questions and show a network of relationships within a community." (CASE03)

In relation to improvisation, two CASE architects emphasized that the tools and techniques used are unique to the individual architect.

> "We can train architects on participatory tools and techniques but it is limited. The methods mainly have to come from their individuality and personality. They have to find the methods which fit their practice by themselves." (CASE03)

> "There is no formula. There can be cases for study and examples, but there is no theory defining participatory design tools at each step." (CASE01)

Negotiation skills are mentioned by CASE architects with varying opinions on it. Only one out of seven CASE architects clearly stated that negotiation skills were an important set of skills. On the contrary, five CASE architects said they would not become directly involved in a conflict, but will let community members negotiate things by themselves.

> "Most of the time conflicts are eventually settled. Community members have their methods. " (CASE02)

This statement reflects the architect's belief in the power of community members to manage conflict by themselves. One CASE architect clearly stated that negotiation skills were not important.

> "I do not believe in the word 'negotiation'. It sounds like escaping from problems. Our work does not concern negotiation, but improving the capacity of individuals – a community member – to acknowledge the causes and effects of their individual decision making at a bigger scale." (CASE01)

Another CASE architect added:

> "It is important to note that 'conflict' does not mean 'problem'. It is an intrinsic part of the process." (CASE03)

Similar to CODI architects, the research findings show that the role of CASE architects in conflictive situations is minimal. The only method is to organize community members into small groups and facilitate a community meeting, so the community members can vote to make a decision. They also acknowledged complex power relations within a community and employ small group meetings to deal with them. In some cases, CASE architects would invite outsiders who were respected by the community members to give opinions because the community members would sometimes prefer a middleman/woman to suggest 'neutral' solutions.

With respect to the skills of CASE architects, it is a mix of conventional architectural design skills, participatory design tools and techniques and non-design related skills. All CASE architects mentioned they employ site planning and house design skills, although they agreed that, if focussing on architectural design *per se*, their design skill was not much developed through practice compared to architects working in commercial offices. For them, the complication of their work is in the design 'process' more than the product of the design outcome. The standard architectural design skills are useful as a basis for their participatory design skills. The researcher explored CODI architects' skills and the challenges they faced in practice related to participatory design. The topics are divided according to the aims of each set of skill, tools and techniques.

4.1 "The First Step, Get Their Attention!"

> "Communication methods are varied. If we speak different languages, we have to use pictorial communication. How do we make them [community members] feel interested and interact? They can agree or disagree with us in later stages. The way

we communicate has to be simple, attractive and exciting. Not only does the house have to be designed, but also the way to communicate has to be well thought out." [CASE03]

Similarly,

"My way to attract them is to make them very curious. It is also very important to make it clear that the meeting is open for everyone, so they feel interested to participate." [CASE06]

CASE architects mentioned that getting the attention of community members was one of the first and the most difficult tasks. One reason is because CASE architects started working with local communities by employing a participatory design method before the working approach of the *Baan Mankong* Programme was well recognized. It was much more difficult to encourage the people to participate in a process with which they were not familiar.

"Sometimes we start things with kids, if adults do not seem to be interested. We conduct art workshops, play games and ask the kids to measure their houses. When the kids play with us or walk around their community with measurement tools, their parents will follow them to our meeting because they are curious about what we are doing with their kids!" (CASE03)

Figure 8-11: CASE architects conducted activities with kids in a community to get the attention of their parents

Source: CASE architects

Another CASE architect revealed another technique.

> "I made a music video. It was for a regeneration project for an old market. No one was interested to participate in the project at first. I worked with a local song writer. We composed a song about the market together. Then, I asked other community members to lipsync the song and made a music video. At the end, I showed it in a community meeting. Community members were excited and became so much more interested in the project, once they saw their faces in the music video on the big screen!"

The research findings show that most community members were normally not interested in the architectural design process or participatory activities. Thus, as another technique, CASE architects sometimes made a collage of the photos of community members in their architectural drawings or in a poster to promote community activities, in order to attract their attention (see Figure 8-12). Moreover, architectural drawings with everyday activities and a collage of faces of community members can attract the attention of community members and engage them in architectural drawings and the design process. The way the architects used architectural drawings as a tool is interesting. The standard architectural drawings are used to start up dialogue, as a part of supporter's responsibility, rather than as a presentation of a finished design project as is usually done in conventional commercial practice (see Figure 8-13).

Figure 8-12: A poster promoting a participatory activity for improving a community playground

Source: CASE architects

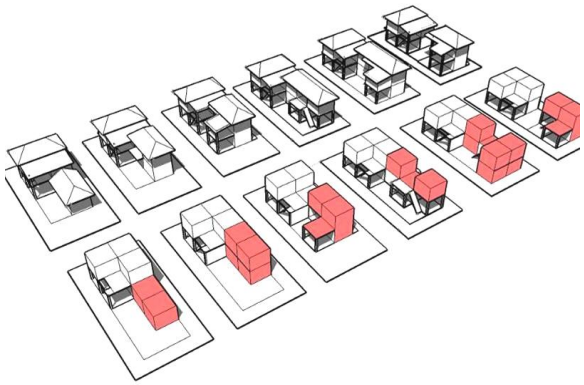
Figure 8-13: An example of architectural drawings with everyday activities

Source: CASE architects

4.2 Understanding Architectural Terminology, Spatial Dimensions and Space

All CASE architects mentioned that English and architectural terminology should be avoided in community meetings. Similarly to CODI architects, they use a lot of pictures, photographs and three-dimensional drawings. The majority or four out of seven CASE architects assert that using models is the most effective way to communicate with community members regarding space-use and architectural terminology.

Figure 8-14: An example of three-dimensional drawings used to help community members understand how to adapt their houses through time



Source: CASE architects

> "A community member would not realize how big a space is. For example, they would think that 1x1 metre is far too small, until they saw the actual size." (CASE03)

Although the research findings show that it is useful to train community members regarding dimensions and volume of space in actual scale, only two out of seven CASE

architects said they would build a 1:1 model. The others said it would take too much time and effort.

At the same time, reflections from CASE architects' clients show challenges in practice, the majority or seven out of ten CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients said that they understood the architect well when the architect explained the design with drawings and models. However, the other three clients said that drawings and models were not helpful.

> "Many people did not know that they had to fill the walls in by themselves. When they saw a model, they thought that the whole house would be completely built for them. The architects did explain, but we just did not get it. We could not understand the drawings. The actual building is also different from what we imagined from the model." (CASEPJ06)

These methods are normally employed at the early stage in a working process. Architects acting as supporter build up local capacity of community members by strengthening their 'power to' make decision by themselves concerning basic architectural terminology and spatial design.

Figure 8-15: CASE architects using models to communicate with community members

Source: CASE architects

Figure 8-16: Training a community member about scale and dimensions with a 1:1 scale

Source: CASE architects

Figure 8-17: A 1:1 scaled house model facilitates better understanding of actual dimensions and volumes of space for community members

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Source: CASE architects

4.3 Asking Questions and Providing Crucial Information

The majority or five out of seven CASE architects mentioned that their technique to uncover the needs and interests of community members was to ask them many questions and to provide them with useful information, such as the pros and cons of each design choice and solution, so the people could start critically thinking about their situation and solutions.

> "If community members would like to build a concrete dam, I may show photos of an unpleasant concrete dam compared to beautiful riverside lifestyles. This is to shake

their beliefs in favouring a modernized concrete dam. Even if they insist on building it, it is fine because the disadvantages and considerations of it will be revealed and the people will acknowledge the causes and effects of their decision making." (CASE01)

CASE architects shared the view that asking questions was a way to raise important issues with community members without imposing on them. At the same time,

"[q]uestions are not always verbal. They can be photos of a community in the past or faces of kids in a community. They can be anything which can make the people question their reality." (CASE01)

"Once, I compared two sets of photos in a community meeting. The first set was photos of narrow and messy walkways in the community. The other set was photos of small walkways of a village in the south of Spain! Then, I asked the community members why the second set of photos looked better than the first one. Is it because it was cleaner, more organized, had more harmonized colours or what? I continued asking questions by showing the photos. At the end, the community started to discuss how to improve their community by implementing small interventions." (CASE03) (See Figure 8-18)

Figure 8-18: CASE architects comparing an image from an informal settlement with a small village in the south of Spain

Source: CASE architects

It is important to provide useful information when asking questions, otherwise community members will not have enough knowledge to make a decision. Therefore, before or after asking questions, CASE architects would give a presentation on basic site planning and house design. They showed community members some images of well-designed

communities, based on photos from traditional villages in Thailand, contemporary housing projects from abroad or other *Baan Mankong* projects.

It is important to note that the questions posed by CASE architects were of a persuasive nature towards what the architects thought of as an 'appropriate' design. Although the architects claimed that the final decisions were made by the community members, the approach employed by CASE architects still raises a question about the role of the architect as 'directive supporter' as mentioned in the previous Chapter.

This skill concerns dialogue between CASE architects and community members. Not only do the latter start asking questions about their situation, but the former also gains a better understanding of the latter for the next phase of the design process.

4.4 Revealing and Integrating Different Interests

Similar to CODI architects, the most common participatory design tool and technique to deal with the issue, which all CASE architects employed, is to organize a planning workshop, where CASE architects and clients can design the community site plan and new houses together in small groups. CASE architects' responsibility is to integrate the people's designs into schematic solutions, and then obtain the final design from majority voting in a community meeting.

> "By presenting their designs in the community meeting, their self-esteem is strengthened. ... The idea of giving information is to prepare some basic knowledge for the clients to be able to design. In other words, it is about building local capacity, and at the same time, building community bonds through a participatory design process." (CASE04)

Figure 8-19: A planning workshop conducted by CASE architects

Source: CASE architects

Figure 8-20: Site plans designed by three groups of community members (image1-3) and site plan designed by the architect (image 4)

1 2 3 4

Source: CASE architects

With regard to house design, CASE architects do not use house catalogues like the CODI architects. They asked each household to make drawings and/or models of their ‘dream house’, which the CASE architects would categorize into a few house prototypes.

Figure 8-21: A model of a dream house made by a community member

Source: CASE architects

Comparably to one CODI architect, one CASE architect mentioned how sometimes CASE architects employed provocative and purposeful 'mistakes' to catalyse critical thinking in a planning workshop. For a relocation project of the 'under-the-bridge' informal settlements in Bangkok, the 'dream house' workshop also had an important part to play in the development of community rules and regulation.

> "When all the models [of the people's dream house] were made, we laid out a big site plan (same scale as the models) on the floor and asked everyone to put his/her cardboard house on the plot… It was packed! When I asked the people whether they would like to live in this community, there was a chorus of unhesitating 'no's'. Then they started talking about how their new community should be. I did not have to tell them anything; I did not have to give lectures on density or open space or setbacks. Everyone understood and agreed to leave a small amount of space open on each plot and then went back to readjust his/her house design accordingly. A set of site rules began to emerge." (Roonrakwit 1999, as cited in Hamdi 2004: 30)

> "As the result, all community members ignored and threw their individual dream houses away and started talking about community rules and regulations to find consensus on how to live in a community as a whole." (CASE03)

Figure 8-22: CASE architects' planning workshop of the 'under-the-bridge' community

Source: CASE architects

Reflections from CASE architects illustrate the challenges that arise from small group meetings. Five out of ten CASE *Arkarn Songkhroa* clients reflected positively on the technique of working in small groups. They said that their voices were heard by other members, other groups and the architect. The other half said that even though the meetings were in small groups, they did not want to express their aspirations because of their lack of confidence, social status and capacity. Gender was also a factor as mentioned in the previous chapter.

The learning process of CASE architects planning workshop is two-ways. Not only do planning workshops reveal the different requirements of different groups amongst community members, but they also help CASE architects better understand the needs of community members both at the individual and collective levels. Community members also learn more about themselves. The methods support reflective practice of community members, as it encourages the people to reflect on their actions and opinions through dialogue with their peers.

4.5 Seeing the Extraordinary in the Ordinary

Similar to CODI architects, CASE architects acknowledge that community members do not value what they have or recognize their potential. All CASE architects agreed that it is challenging to deal with the middle-class dreams of community members.

> "Community members think that what they have is banal, poor and not modernized. They consume the same advertisements, soap operas and films as the middle class. They share similar dreams." (CASE01)

CASE architects employed another technique to enable community members to perceive their everyday reality in a different way.

> "What will happen if they [community members] see images of well designed expensive beach resorts using local materials, such as timber, bamboo and palm leaves? … I think it is because they have not seen other choices, so they favour a concrete house. We [architects] just have to show community members other alternatives, and then check which choice they prefer." (CASE03) (See Figure 23)

Figure 8-23: Comparing local materials used in a community (left) with a well designed hotel using cheap materials (right)

Source: CASE architects

Figure 8-24: A well-designed prototype house by CASE architects was built by community members using local materials

Source: CASE architects

A well-drawn view of an improved community can get the attention of community members because they rarely view their community in an ‘artistic’ way. It can also suggest a few small improvements, which community members can easily manage on their own, that will have a strong impact on the community as a whole.

Figure 8-25: A well-drawn view of an improved community by CASE architects

Source: CASE architects

However, one CASE architect pointed out some challenges.

> “The technique may not always work. When we showed community members some photos of expensive hotels using bamboo, 10% of them thought differently and that it was a temporary situation. The majority will prefer a concrete house, no matter what they see in a meeting, because this is what they have preferred all of their lives. It is very difficult to change someone’s mind.” (CASE02)

4.6 Supporting the Organization of the People and Increasing their Confidence

CASE architects emphasized that it is important to support people-organization development through facilitating small interventions. There are two objectives. The first concerns building up their self-esteem and confidence. The second concerns starting up a organization made up of people in the community so the project can be implemented and self-sustainable. From the semi-structure interviews with CASE architects, the first interventions often were not related to architectural activities.

> “Sometimes I had to start from facilitating an aerobic dance class for housewives. Once they got organized, they would feel more confident to participate in our future meetings.” (CASE01)

Similarly,

> "[w]hen we worked with a Muslim community, in which male community members are so dominant, the design would be so rigid. We wanted women to participate, but they were not brave enough to come to the meetings. So we started by organizing tea parties, cooking classes, soap-making workshops and savings groups. When they had activities together as a group, they would feel more confident. They became or felt more powerful, especially if they could take control of the money for their household or community. And then we could engage them in our design process." (CASE01)

However, referring to the previous chapter, although CODI and CASE architects seem to be sensitive to gender issues by conducting different participatory design tools and techniques to deal with the imbalance of power relations among male and female community members, female community members of the three chosen CODI and CASE housing projects accepted the exclusion from the design and construction process.

CASE01 architect mentioned the link between supporting community members to conduct small changes to the idea of scaling up.

> "Years ago, I started an upgrading project by launching a small 'Painting your House' scheme. The reason was because the community members were not interested in participating or making any changes by themselves. So, I started from something small. We worked with only five houses who were interested in improving their houses without much effort. The budget was very low. Once the five houses were repainted, the neighbours were curious and wanted to do the same! Then, I was able to start talking about upgrading the community on a bigger scale." (CASE01)

From an interview with CASE03, photos below show an example of a small pilot project – an improvement of a walkway in an informal settlement. The pilot project was conducted as a first step in getting community members together, as they were not interested in participating in the community upgrading project at first. The walkway was relatively easier and required a lower budget to implement. Once it was done, community members felt more 'convinced' and confident to participate in the upgrading project. In the end, they gathered together to buy paints and spontaneously improved the whole community. The example shows the architects' acknowledgement of the relationship between small design interventions and ways to scale up people-centre development in order to solve the problem of informal settlement at bigger scale.

Figure 8-26: A small pilot project was scaled up to a whole community upgrading

Source: CASE architects

Finally, it is important that:

> "Architects should see relationships and networks of small interventions, because at the end everything is related to urban design and architecture. Supporting savings groups, organizing aerobic dancing classes and building walkways may seem ridiculous for some other architects. However, if they cannot see how small interventions link to bigger goals, I think they should stop working as an architect." (CASE01)

The learning process of this method focuses on the dialogue amongst CASE architects and community members. Not only do community members start to act for themselves and learn more about their collective 'power to' work together, but CASE architects also learn about the organization of the people and can observe the emergence of social networks within a community which is useful information for their next design process.

4.7 Communicating with Outsiders for Strategic Reasons

CASE architects employed participatory design tools and techniques to communicate positive 'messages' concerning the capacity of informal settlement communities to outsiders for strategic reasons.

> "At the later stage of the relocation of the 'under-the-bridge' community project, we [architects] worked with community members to organize an exhibition showing 1:1 scaled models of house prototypes in the public space in front of the Bangkok Metropolitan Office. The model was primarily meant to facilitate a better

understanding of the community members about the actual dimensions of the house prototypes. At the same time, by working together as a group on the exhibition, it built up the self-esteem of community members and made them more organized. The exhibition also communicated positive messages to outsiders that community members of informal settlements could be organized to work together and could do positive things. It concerned raising the awareness of the government and ordinary people on the issue of informal settlements." (CASE03)

Figure 8-27: The exhibition of the house prototypes in a public space in Bangkok

Source: CASE architects

In comparison to another project,

"[F]or the *Pom Mahakarn* Community, an informal settlement which invaded conservative, traditional building areas in Bangkok, they were threatened with eviction because of the new urban regeneration proposal. The government wanted to clear out the community to create a grand public green space. We [architects] wanted to prove to the public that the community could live with the park. Thus, we worked with community members to organize a garden exhibition to show outsiders that they could take care of and be responsible for the maintenance of the park proposed by the government." (CASE04)

Figure 8-28: The working process of the garden exhibition in *Pom Mahakarn* community

Source: CASE architects

Not only could the public see community members of informal settlements in a different way, but also

> "…community members became less self-centred. At the beginning, everyone in *Pom Mahakarn* community merely wanted to blindly and negatively protest against the government. They did not want to be relocated, which was understandable, but they did not propose any positive alternative to the government so it was a dead-end. Through the making of the garden exhibition, they became more aware of being a part of the city as a whole and that they should learn to negotiate with other stakeholders in a more strategic way." (CASE03)

Through working as a group, community members' 'power with' is strengthened. The people are also encouraged to politically act for themselves by demonstrating their positive social contribution to the public.

5. The Three Roles of Architects and Comparison of their Skills

The research findings confirm that there is a gap between the skills of NHA architects and CODI and CASE architects. Referring to Table 8-1 below, it is important to point out that most skills CODI and CASE architects embraced and used in action are learned from practice. Conventional architectural design skills – site planning and house designing – trained in architectural schools are important for the new architectural professionalism of CODI and CASE architects, but they are not enough. Skills related to socio-cultural knowledge for working with clients and developing appropriate architectural design programmes passed on in conventional architectural schools, such as architectural

presentation, communication, observation and listening, remain important. Similar to the knowledge of the new architectural professionalism, skills related to political-institutional knowledge are absent in conventional architectural schools. Improvisation, negotiation and organizing people-organization are important skills for CODI and CASE architects but are not taught in conventional architectural schools. This issue is discussed in the next section concerning alternative architectural education.

Table 8-1 below summarizes the skills of NHA, CODI and CASE architects including their roles, examples of tools and techniques used and established aims. It is important to note that many tools and techniques are shared amongst architects acting as providers, supporters and catalysts. What distinguishes them is the purpose of each tool and technique, as their values are different. As mentioned, this research argues that architects acting as providers use their skills related to architectural design and socio-cultural knowledge to make decisions related to architectural design ‘for’ their clients in order to control the outcome of the design. On the contrary, while architects acting as supporter employ participation as a means for project efficiency and effectiveness and local capacity building in which the architects are facilitators in a participatory design process, architects acting as catalysts use participation as an ends for community empowerment. The focus of architects acting as catalyst’s skills is encouraging the self-awareness of community members – catalysts encouraging the people to believe in themselves, to act collectively for themselves and to reflect on their actions.

In response to the architects’ theory-in-use as mentioned in Chapter 6, NHA architects’ skills-in-use are mainly those of providers, while CODI and CASE architects’ skills-in-use are the integration of providers, supporters and catalysts’ skills. Table 8-1 also shows the deskilling of NHA architects, as their house-design skills are disregarded. In contrast, CODI and CASE architects have a more diverse set of skills than NHA architects. Finally, it is important to notice the different acknowledgement of NHA, CODI and CASE architects concerning team working in order to collaborate with other team workers from different disciplinary. NHA architects mentioned working with engineers, architects from other working units, feasibility study staff and private contractors. CODI architects mentioned team-working with social organizers and savings groups staff, although they also mentioned the challenges of miscommunication and lack of understanding of the role of architects in the other staff’s perception and the vice versa. CASE architects did not emphasize working as a team with others, although their skills reflect a slightly more multi-disciplinary comparing to NHA and CODI architects, e.g. including people-organization skill.

Table 8-1: NHA, CODI and CASE architects' skills-in-use

Roles	Skills	Examples of Tools and Techniques	Aims
NHA architects			
Provider	Design: Site planning	• Computer-aided-design programmes • Hand sketch	• Arranging prototype houses according to the TOR and architectural design standards.
	Socio-cultural: Architectural presentation and communication	• Two and three-dimensional architectural drawing and scaled model.	• Representing architectural design mainly to the engineers and other working teams.
		• 1:1 prototype house	• Representing architectural design to their potential clients.
CODI and CASE Architects			
Provider	Design: • Site planning • House designing	• Computer-aided-design programmes • Hand sketching	• Providing basic infrastructure for a community and basic structure for a house
Supporter	Socio-cultural: • Observation and listening	• Site survey • Interviews and informal talks with community members	• Searching for crucial information in a community in order to support accordingly
	Socio-cultural: • Architectural presentation and communication	• Two and three-dimensional architectural drawing and scaled model. • 1:1 prototype house	• Facilitating better understanding towards architectural terminology, spatial dimensions and space
			• Getting attention of community members
		• CODI house catalogue	• Describing basic design and making end-results explicit as a guideline
	Political-institutional: • Improvisation • Negotiation • Organizing people-organization	• Planning workshops	• Providing crucial information • Facilitating dialogue: learning process for all actors • Revealing different interests of small groups and balancing the three elements in participatory design process • Encouraging a learning process amongst actors including the architects
		• Local craftsmen networks	• Local capacity building concerning design and construction skills
		• Site visit	• Facilitating dialogue: learning from other communities
		• Savings group	• Supporting the organization of community members
		• Small interventions	• Supporting the organization of community members
		• Working with kids in a community	• Getting attention of community members

(Continued from the previous page)

Roles	Skills	Examples of Tools and Techniques	Aims
CODI and CASE Architects			
Catalyst	Socio-cultural: • Observation and listening	• Site survey • Interviews and informal talks with community members	• Searching for crucial information in a community in order to catalyse accordingly
	Political-institutional: • Improvisation • Negotiation • Organizing people-organization	• Planning workshops	• Asking questions to raise awareness of community members
		• Two and three-dimensional architectural drawing • Photo-slide show	• Encouraging the people to see the extraordinary in the ordinary • Raising awareness and self-confidence of community members
		• Savings group • Design and construction skill training for local craftsmen/women	• Raising awareness and self-confidence of community members • Encouraging community members to act for themselves
		• Site visit	• Encouraging the people to reflect on their actions
		• Small interventions	• Encouraging community members to act for themselves
		• Public exhibition	• Raising awareness and self-confidence of community members

Skills which are shared amongst CODI and CASE architects

CODI architects' skills which are not shared with CASE architects

CASE architects' skills which are not shared with CODI architects

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Chapter 9: Challenges of the Alternative Architectural Education

1. Introduction

An ‘alternative architectural education’ encompasses the integration of two broad dimensions: the new architectural content – nurturing the new values of the roles of supporter and catalyst, as well as the design, socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge and skills of participatory design; and the new pedagogy which promotes reflective learning and practice. The previous chapters demonstrate the emergence of the ‘new professionalism of community architects from the practice of CODI and CASE architects with a comparison to the practice of NHA architects. The research findings confirm that there is a gap between the values of the new architectural professionalism of CODI and CASE architects and NHA architects. While conventional architectural education promotes the espoused values of the architects as provider, the values of CODI and CASE architects in practice relate greatly to the roles of supporter and catalyst which see more ‘opportunities’ than ‘problems’ in the existence of slums and value the contribution of local community members and thus employ participatory design in their practice. In relation to knowledge and skills, while conventional architectural education includes design and some socio-cultural knowledge and skills, political-institutional knowledge and skills which are important in the practice of CODI and CASE architects are absent in conventional architectural content.

In relation to alternative architectural education, the research questions are what aspects of architectural education need to be changed in order to support the ‘new professionalism’ embodied in ‘community architects’? What is the resistance to integrating these aspects of an alternative approach into mainstream architectural education? Therefore, the objective of this chapter is to reflect on current architectural education and to address the gaps, barriers and challenges of ‘alternative architectural education’ which integrate the new architectural professionalism of CODI and CASE architects into architectural content and pedagogy.

The analysis of this chapter comes from semi-structured interviews with four groups in the study populations. The first group is NHA, CODI and CASE architects. Second, there are two major architectural professional associations in Thailand. The Architect Council of Thailand (ACT) is the official representative of Thai architects. It supports architectural academia and architectural practice, authorizes architectural licenses, endorses architectural certificates and degrees and issues professional regulations. The Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage (ASA) provides a network of professionals and supports members by organizing seminars, trainings and workshops on professional issues – academic and practice. Third, the researcher interviewed architectural educators from the Faculty of

Architecture from Chulalongkorn University (CU) and Silpakorn University (SU) because they are the two top schools of architecture based on entrance exam scores. Fourth, there are also findings from some of the selected housing and alternative architectural education experts. Finally, the findings are also based on the photo analysis session with CU and SU educators focusing on their perceptions about urban poor livelihoods, slums in the cities, materials used and construction and space-use of houses in informal settlements.

The chapter is divided into three major sections: the findings from NHA, CODI and CASE architects; members of professional architectural institutions; and reflections from architectural educators of CU, SU and alternative architectural courses related to the existence of informal settlements and barriers to integrate the practice of CODI and CASE architects into alternative architectural education.

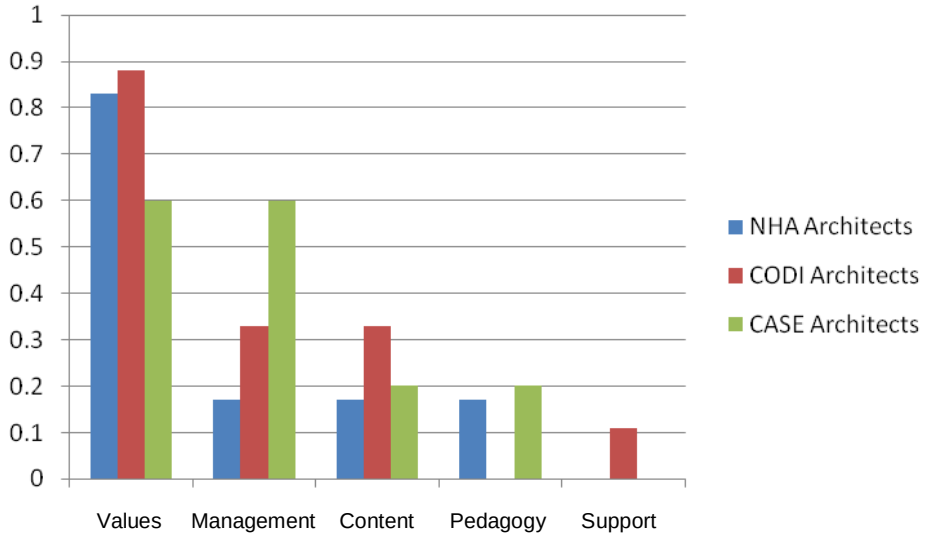
2. Reflections from NHA, CODI and CASE Architects: Challenges of Alternative Architectural Education

Based on the semi-structured interviews with six NHA, nine CODI and five CASE architects, five main challenges obstructing the integration of an alternative architectural education into conventional architectural education were raised.[1] These are discussed below in order from the most important challenge to the least important.

- Values of architects, architectural educators and students
- Curriculum and course management
- New architectural content: integrating new knowledge and skills
- Pedagogy
- Support from the government

[1] The categories above were formed after the researcher analyzed and grouped the data from the research findings.

Figure 9-1: Reflections from NHA, CODI and CASE architects: challenges of alternative architectural education



2.1 Values of Architects, Architectural Educators and Students

In the view of NHA, CODI and CASE architects, the main obstacle to the establishment of an alternative architectural education concerns the different architectural values nurtured by architects, architectural educators and students. Nurturing architectural values concerning social responsibility, an open-minded character and reflective practice for architectural students are mentioned by most NHA, CODI and CASE architects as the most important values to be nurtured in alternative architectural education.

Five out of six NHA, eight out of nine CODI and three out of five CASE architects stated that most architects, architectural educators and students prefer to conduct a 'one-man-show' type of architectural practice. Boonyabancha, the director of CODI, supports this perception when she stated:

> "Different professional values are important. Architects have to believe in human equality. The people have their own version of sophistication in designing their houses and ways of living. Architects have to be humble and open to learn from poor communities." (KEY- Boonyabancha)

Not only do most conventional architectural schools and educators tend to refuse to see low-income groups of people as clients, but architectural students themselves do not seem to be interested in working for/with poor urban communities.

> "When I was studying Architecture, there were only 6-7 students out of 60 students who were interested in low-income housing projects." (NHA05)

One CODI architect suggested a pedagogic tool to encourage more architects to be interested in the community practice that:

> "It may be helpful if conventional architects, architectural educators and students see the capacity of local urban poor communities or if they have the chance to experience CODI projects." (CODI04)

This implies collaboration between architectural schools and the CODI and CASE organizations in practice to raise values like social awareness. This also requires a certain amount of course management, which is mentioned as the second most important obstacle of the alternative architectural education.

2.2 Curriculum and Course Management

One out of six NHA, three out of nine CODI and three out of five CASE architects mentioned the rigidity of the current architectural curriculum and the difficulty of course management owing to inadequate time, staff and safety. Regarding time, the concern relates to the constant time-consuming nature of community work. With respect to staff, there is an insufficient number of architectural tutors who understand the issues of slums and participatory design. One reason for this is because there is a lack of adequate alternative architectural content – the knowledge and skills of the new architectural professionalism. Finally, the architects stated that the students' parents may be concerned about the safety of their children while working in or visiting a site in the slum areas. This could undermine the popularity of such a course during the entrance exam.

One CODI architect said that current collaboration between CODI and architectural schools are not effective yet. In his view, architectural schools can contribute and get involved with CODI in many diverse areas, such as:

- Designing community site plans and houses by working with the CODI and community members;
- Serving as a consultant on a specific subject for a short time;
- Conducting skills training sessions for community members and community networks;
- Helping community members build houses as a part of their architectural construction modules, especially for the students of technical colleges;

- Encouraging their students to train at the CODI as part of their Training Module.

There are some alternative architectural courses which attempted to contribute some activities mentioned above. This is discussed further in Section 4.3.

2.3 New Architectural Content: Integrating New Knowledge and Skills

CODI and CASE architects suggested a range of new knowledge be included in alternative architectural education. First, in relation to design knowledge and skills, design and construction techniques concerning low-cost materials and construction and small space design are important in their practice.

Second, in relation to socio-cultural knowledge and skills, more emphasis should be placed on the needs of the urban poor in different contexts. This includes the lifestyles of slums dwellers and their relationships to cities. Furthermore, vernacular wisdom including climatic design, local construction skills and craftsmanship are important aspects to be added. One out of six NHA, three out of nine CODI and one out of five CASE architects said that there is insufficient knowledge about slum problems and the notion of a slum and their relationship to the city should be important subjects in alternative architectural education.

Third, in relation to political-institutional knowledge and skills, the notions of community empowerment principles, the complex exercise of power relations and the emergence and deterioration of community bonds should be included.

With respect to integrating participatory design knowledge into architectural education, all CODI and CASE architects said that participatory design is useful for any type of architectural practice – commercial and community practice. Six out of eleven CODI architects and five out of seven CASE architects said participatory design increases effectiveness of the architectural programme considering clients' needs. One CASE architect stated that participatory design facilitates new understandings in architectural design, as it broadens the architectural framework.

> "Fundamentally, architecture must create better social organization and relationships amongst people. Good architects need to understand the complex social relationships of people. The design process should encourage a learning process amongst architects and clients. All architects should practice this way." (CASE01)

Finally, multi-disciplinary practice is mentioned. This includes integrating subjects, such as, urban planning, architectural design, interior design, housing design, psychology and

human behaviour in an architectural content. Another approach is to adequately prepare architecture students to work with the practitioners who specialise in the issues.

2.4 Pedagogy

One out of six NHA and one out of five CASE architects criticized current architectural teaching methods and suggested directions for improvement.

> "CODI architect's main role is to act as educators. Current architectural pedagogy does not teach students to be educators. It teaches them to defend their ideas and themselves. If architectural schools could train their students to be educators, the students could work responsively with any type of clients – rich or poor." (NHA13)

Most CODI architects consider the teaching methods which facilitate open-mindedness and reflective professionalism to be important.

> "In most of the current architectural curriculum, architectural tutors tended to identify the brief. The students merely have to follow the design routine without questioning it." (CODI06)

> "An open learning atmosphere makes people confident to express themselves and listen to others." (CODI02)

One CODI and one CASE architects suggested that the group working in architectural schools should be further encouraged to nurture open-mindedness and introduce teamwork skills.

One CASE architect said that conventional architectural education and pedagogy supports the reflective practice of architectural students.

> "Conventional architectural education taught me that there is no single solution in a design process. It depends on individual interpretations. In general, architectural education is very reflective. It is an open process. The students can choose to go in the direction they are interested. 'Crit' [architectural final presentation] also taught us to be open to listen to other people and to reflect on the causes and effects of our design from different aspects – human behavior, society and environment." (CASE01)

From a different viewpoint, one CASE architect argued that conventional architectural education and the pedagogy of the ‘crit’ format is not useful.

> “In the architectural design studio, no one cares what the clients think. The design brief is always given. Persons who evaluate students’ design in the ‘crit’ panel should be the clients, not the tutors.” (CASE03)

A CASE architect criticized the widely accepted ‘one-for-all’ type of a design studio in architectural schools in Thailand, where the whole class is given the same design brief and work on the same project, as an obstacle to reflecting the diversity of architectural education content. This reduces the possibility of integrating slums and participatory design into architectural education.

Two out of seven CODI architects and three out of five CASE architects suggested that the alternative modules in architectural curriculum should be more diverse, so community practice could be integrated as a part of the curriculum.

> “Not everyone wants to be or can be a ‘designer architect.’ They may be interested in research, environmental design, urban design or community practice, but there are no other choices to make.” (CASE01)

With respect to nurturing the improvisational skills of architectural students, the founder of CASE (CASE03) suggested that architectural tutors should use flexible teaching methods whereby the performances of the students simultaneously shape the direction of the course. This clearly leads to challenges for both the tutors and students, as not all of them are ready to improvise. This raises the question of how much architectural tutors should provide guidance and to what extent creative inputs from architectural students can emerge. Moreover, the founder of CASE criticized textbooks and academic reading lists for discouraging critical thinking.

> “When I teach, I do not provide the student with a reading list as a list of academic textbooks, but children books and local Thai newspapers comprising lots of gossip and scandalous news. Textbooks are ready-made. They make students too lazy to think.” (CASE03)

One NHA architect, seven CODI architects and three CASE architects focus on learning from live projects by conducting site visits and working with communities on site.

Another CASE architect added that:

> "If architectural tutors bring students to see slums and if they meet some nice and creative slum dwellers, it could lead to positive values towards slums and broaden their thoughts and their architectural practice." (CASE01)

Comparably, one NHA architect suggested that architectural tutors should choose an informal settlement community for a site visit in a strategic way.

> "To begin with, tutors should choose slums which do not look too messy. The first activity could simply be sketching and making a drawing of the communities. Students could learn a lot from that." (NHA10)

2.5 Support from the Government

Only one out of nine CODI architects mentioned his concern about the stability of the CODI as an organization and the need for political will and commitment from the government to support community practice and alternative architectural education.

> "I think it will take a long time for Thailand to have alternative architectural education, as there are few job opportunities and organizations to work for when the students graduate. Even for the CODI itself I have no idea how the organization will turn out in the long term." (CODI01)

It is important to point out that most of the challenges of alternative architectural education which are perceived as important in the views of NHA, CODI and CASE architects concern architectural insiders – architects, architectural tutors and architectural students. Only one architect argued for the need for more commitment from the government and concern for jobs for students educated in an alternative practice. However, semi-structured interviews with the directors of ACT and ASA show that there are challenges from people outside the architectural practice as well from architectural insiders. This is discussed in the next section.

3. Reflections from Architectural Professional Institutions: Challenges of Alternative Architectural Education

3.1 Support and Values of the Outsiders

Both directors of the ASA and ACT agreed that architects could and should contribute more to urban poor community development practice. They both call for more social awareness and alternatives to architectural practice in architectural schools. Furthermore, they both said that the reason gaps exist in conventional architectural practice, the new professional practice and alternative architectural education is because the actors outside architectural practice do not recognize the roles of architects and do not provide an opportunity for architects to contribute.

> "ASA has tried to get involved in the post-tsunami community reconstruction projects. We proposed it to the government, but there was no feedback from them." (ASA)

> "There are many architects who are interested in dealing with slum development, but they do not have opportunities or networks to work for/with a community. Who will fund the project? Governmental departments who deal with the issue do not think architects are important or relevant to the problems. Architects have to prove to the public what we can do." (ACT)

The directors of the ASA and ACT said that the government, private sector and general public do not understand the architectural profession. Poor communities are not exceptional as they have survived without the involvement of the architectural profession.

With respect to proposing solutions, the ACT had more concrete plans concerning bridging the gap between architectural education and practice with community work. The director of the ACT mentioned three strategies which are a part of his organization's future 12-year plan.

- ACT plans to propose a new regulation requiring graduates to have two years of practical experience before they receive their architectural practice license. There will be a credit system that encourages architects to return to their region and work locally, i.e. architects whose work relate to local communities may get more credit.
- Volunteer-Architect Scheme: ACT is sending architects to provinces around Thailand to provide academic services to local authorities and communities. This plan was recently launched and has already been implemented in 18 provinces. The aim is to promote the architectural profession to the public regionally. However, there is lack of support for this initiative from the government.

> "The ACT talked about this for almost three years. The government changed its ministers often and our plan just had to wait and wait because it was not their top priority." (ACT)

- The ACT plans to propose to the government to increase the architect's position in local administration – *Tambol* – so architects' input could be integrated in local development plans. However, this plan is merely a proposal, and has not yet been implemented.

3.2 Values of Architects, Architectural Educators and Students

The directors of the ASA and ACT stated that most architects strive for fame as they need it to survive in the competitive commercial market. Thus, few architects will work in non-profit activities. However, the reasons are not only because it is not feasible, but also because it is not attractive.

> "Thus, the ACT is trying to honour architects whose works deal with social issues by giving prizes or supporting architectural competitions and workshops concerning community practice." (ACT)

The director of the ASA said that the NHA is responsible for making fewer architects interested in dealing with low-income housing.

> "NHA work lacks creativity. They all look the same. It is not interesting enough to attract other architects to work on low-income housing." (ASA)

The research interviews with the directors of the ASA and ACT also support the research findings from interviewed NHA, CODI and CASE architects that the values of architects are the most important factor that distinguishes those who work in commercial practice and those who work for/with poor urban communities.

> "It is really up to the architects' values whether they want to be the ones who decide everything or whether they prefer to learn from others. At the same time, they have to educate their clients as well, not merely follow everything the clients want." (ASA)

The director of the ACT said that community architectural practice requires great management skills and he added that architects can hardly do both – designing and

managing. Thus, he calls for a 'manager' who would act as a mediator between architects and community. His statement conflicts with that of Boonyabancha, the director of the CODI, who has an architectural background. She stated that:

> "Slum upgrading is truly an architect's work. An architect can do it [can play different roles i.e. designing and mediating], but most architects are not interested in social organization which is the key in community development. Thus, we are forced to set up social organizers as a separate team at CODI to mediate and collaborate with other partners [government, local authorities, community networks and NGOs]. Therefore, in practice architects have to depend on social workers' skills… Social workers do not understand how a design can create new social systems and social organization … It is a pity that architects are not interested and do not understand complex relationships within a community, so they let others [social organizers] deal with it, so they can focus merely on form and the artistic dimensions of the project. Unfortunately slum improvement is not about form. It is about changing community systems and arranging new and sound relationships." (KEY- Boonyabancha)

However, her statement places great responsibility on architects as it appears they have to be able to handle everything. This raises a great challenge for alternative architectural education in terms of time because the students only have a five year undergraduate course. It is also debatable whether architects should 'do it all' or it is more realistic to expect architects to be able to work with other workers from different disciplinary. Nevertheless, her statement confirms that the acknowledgement of multi-disciplinary knowledge and team-working skills are important in the practice of community architects but absent in today practice of CODI architects and conventional architectural education.

She added that to comprehend this new knowledge, architects have to be willing to challenge themselves to be on the edge of their comfort zone. At the same time, she said that this does not mean that form does not matter, as she suggested that designing new physical form – both the product and the process of it – can simultaneously rearrange complex relationships and deal with power relations amongst community members.

Finally, like the directors of the ASA and ACT, she criticised the values of architectural tutors that embrace Western norms in architecture as follows:

> "Most architectural educators graduate from Western architectural schools. They have the West as a role model. From my experience, architectural schools in provincial areas, such as Mahasarakarm University and Khon Kaen University [both are located in the northeast of Thailand] have better notions concerning local and

vernacular design than those located in big cities. To study Western architecture is not wrong, but there should be more modules concerning local community practice. Chulalongkorn University or Silpakorn University [both are located in Bangkok]… none of them has adequate and knowledgeable educators who can teach the subject." (KEY- Boonyabancha)

3.3 Curriculum and Course Management

The director of ACT said that the number of credits and main subjects required in current architectural curriculum is fixed by the Ministry of Education and ACT and very difficult to change. However, it only states the minimum, the basic knowledge required. He argued that the structure of the curriculum is flexible enough to integrate different types of architectural practice into the content of architectural education.

"I invited many architectural schools to meetings to discuss how to adjust the architectural curriculum. The ACT is merely a facilitator opening platforms for different architectural schools to talk to each other. It depends on each school to determine the content of their architectural curriculum and credits." (ACT)

He argued further that:

"Most of the architectural schools do not communicate with each other. They all have same contents, thus producing the same types of designer architects. " (ACT)

In comparison, the director of the ASA mentioned the lack of interest from architectural schools themselves in valuing community architectural practice that leads to the lack of will to manage their course and curriculum to accommodate community practice.

"There are student activities such as an *ad hoc* summer camp where students may go to an outreach area and build small shelters for a local community, but it is all done in an informal way. The students do not get academic credit from it. Credit endorsement from architectural schools could greatly support this type of practice in architectural education … Architectural schools should take the initiative … Local schools should also collaborate with the CODI working on the *Baan Mankong Programme*." (ASA)

3.4 New Architectural Content: Integrating New Knowledge and Skills

The director of ACT suggested that if one wants to integrate the work of community architects into architectural education, one has to clearly draw up the code of conduct of such practice.

> "Some architects may be interested to work for/with poor communities, but they do not know how to do it. Some basic laws, rules and procedures should be defined. If it is clearer that the steps of working for/with poor communities is like 1…2…3…4, it would be more encouraging for architects to do it in practice." (ACT)

This is why this research is important, as it aims to contribute some critical ideas about the professionalism and the code of conduct of the new architectural professionalism by addressing and identifying new values, knowledge and skilled required in the new architectural practice of CODI and CASE architects.

4. Reflections from Architectural Educators

This section compares views concerning challenges of alternative architectural education perceived by two different groups of architectural educators – conventional architectural educators from CU and SU educators and alternative architectural education experts. The research findings are from semi-structured interviews with alternative architectural education experts and photo analysis with CU and SU educators.[2]

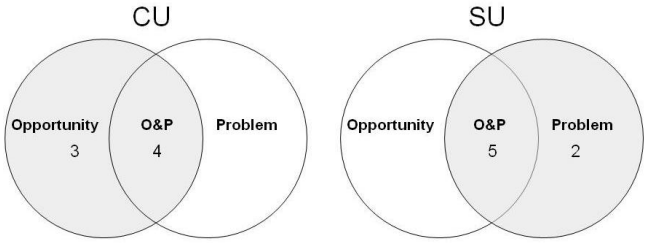
4.1 Perceptions of CU and SU Educators concerning Slums

CU and SU educators expressed different viewpoints about the photo analysis session, which include photos of (1) livelihoods of the urban poor; (2) slums in the cities; (3) materials-uses and construction; and (4) use of space.

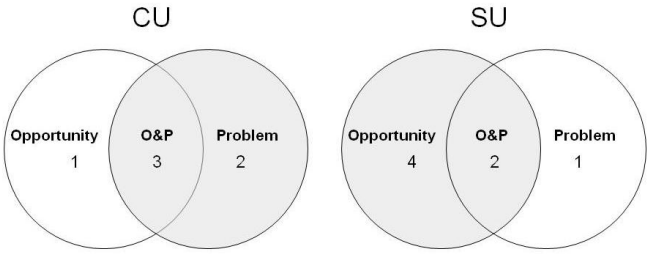
[2] Due to limited time, the researcher could not conduct photo analysis with alternative architectural education experts.

Figure 9-2: Different Perceptions of CU and SU Educators towards Slums[3]

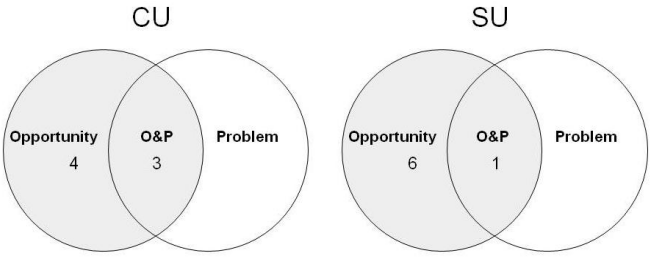
Urban Poor Livelihoods



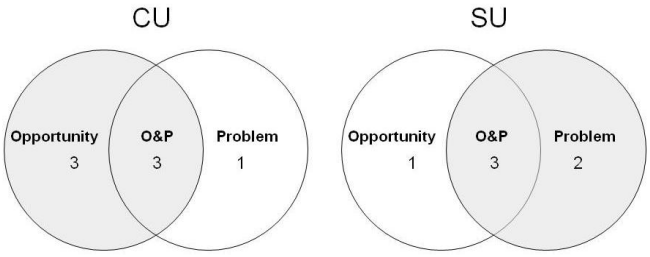
Slums in the Cities



Material-use and Construction



Space-use



Referring to Figure 9.2, in conclusion, positive comments from CU and SU educators about slums in all four sets of photos can be divided into three groups. The first concerns the existence of slums and the urban poor's informal livelihoods as important sectors of the economy of cities. The second perceives them as the 'reality' of lively Thai culture and lifestyle which reflect the urban poor's needs, aspirations and social interaction. Five out of six

[3] Due to limited time, the photo sets of 'slums in the cities' and 'materials-use and construction' were shown to six CU educators, unlike the other two sets which were shown to seven CU educators.

CU educators and four out of seven SU educators referred to slum houses as Thai vernacular architecture.

> "The patterns of social interaction in slums are similar to old Thai villages." (CU03)

CU and SU educators suggested that architectural education should not rely too much on western knowledge and should concentrate more on Thai culture and use the existence of slums and the urban poor's informal livelihoods for their study subjects.

The third positive comment from CU and SU educators about slums imply respect related to the urban poor's survival and struggle as a reflection of their personal capacity. CU and SU educators also perceive the urban poor's uses of abandoned urban space, cheap building materials and construction for their informal livelihoods and settlements as creativity. CU and SU educators suggested that architectural education should learn from the urban poor's space, material and construction use as part of their design lessons. They mentioned flexibility and adaptation of space use, recycle-materials, low-cost construction and appropriate technology.

However, most expressions of the educators in this category show a certain level of romanticism in their perception concerning the 'beauty' of slums' and a sense of community within slums. Four out of six CU educators and five out of seven SU educators mentioned the 'beauty' of slum houses referring to the urban poor's different expressions of identities and the plurality of colours, lines, forms and materials.

> "Colours and texture of space look great. They look like site-specific art installation." (CU03)

It is important to note that a SU educator stated that:

> "The photo set of creative materials-used and the construction of houses in slums could inspire more architects to work with the urban poor…" (SU07)

By contrast, CU and SU educators' negative comments can be divided into three groups listed in order of how frequently they were mentioned. The first is that the urban poor take advantage of public space and resources.

> "They are selfish. Street hawkers may earn even more than people who have a proper shop because they do not have to pay rent or tax." (CU01)

The second relates to the unorganized nature and deteriorated environment created by informal livelihoods and settlements of the urban poor. They also mentioned the poor environment and the lack of basic standard infrastructure and facilities of houses in slums.

"One cannot be naive and say that what I am seeing is beautiful. It is cruel." (SU07)

The third concerns the representation of unequal development of the country, and the failure of government policies.

During the photo analysis sessions of 'urban poor livelihoods', 'slums in the cities' and 'space-use', most CU and SU educators perceived the role of architects as very minimal because they thought that the problems were too complicated for their architectural profession to solve. They suggested that architects need to be open-minded and need to work with other professions, such as urban planners, public health departments, economists and social organizers and also that changes at the national policy level is key. This is discussed further in the next section.

Focusing on the role of architects, most CU and SU educators perceived the role of architects to be more relevant when they saw the photo set of 'materials-used and construction' of houses in slums. They mentioned that architects could improve small physical elements concerning safety, infrastructure, accessibility, ventilation and health.

Only one SU educator mentioned the role of architects as activists because design alone is not enough.

> "Architectural institutions, architectural and urban planning schools should act as pressure groups making the government pay more attention to slum problems and launch concrete policies." (SU07)

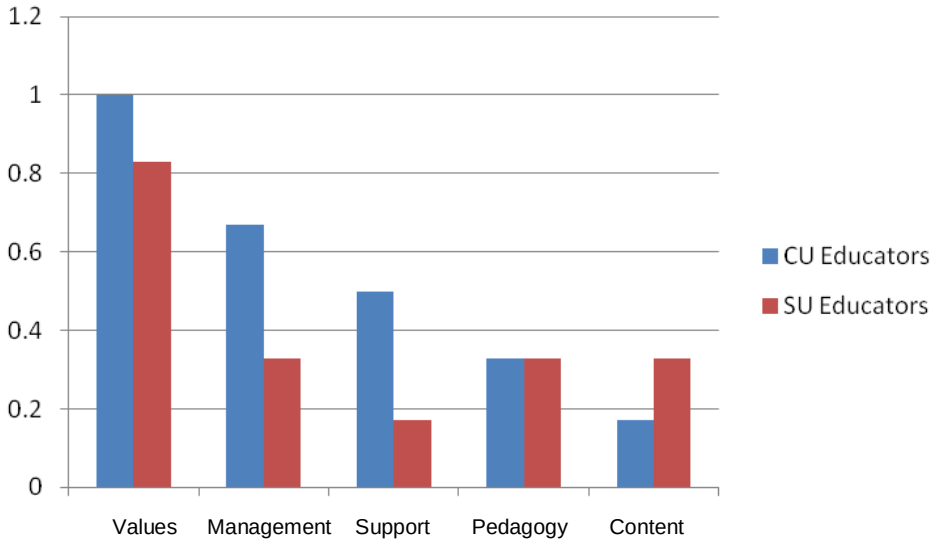
Moreover, it is interesting to point out that CU educators perceived slums more positively than SU educators even though none of the CODI and CASE architects graduated from CU. Therefore, it is incorrect to state that the negative perception of architectural educators concerning slums directly relates to a lack of interest among architectural students. However, having architectural educators who are interested in or have positive attitudes about slums does not mean they are willing to or can integrate the topic into their classes. One reason is because they think architects have a limited role in solving the slum problem. At the same time, there are other factors obstructing the alternative architectural education. This is discussed in the next section.

4.2 Reflections from CU and SU Educators: Challenges of Alternative Architectural Education

Based on semi-structured interviews with CU and SU educators, the challenges to the integration of slums and participatory community design in architectural education are varied and interrelated. CU and SU educators identified the following five main obstacles listed in order of importance:

- Values of architects, architectural educators and students
- Curriculum and course management
- Support from the government (equally as important as pedagogy)
- Pedagogy (equally as important as support)
- New architectural content: integrating new knowledge and skills

Figure 9-3: Reflections from CU and SU educators: challenges of alternative architectural education



4.2.1 Values of Architects, Architectural Educators and Students

Most CU and SU educators confirm that conventional architectural education trains architectural students for commercial practice to support the capitalist market. An educator who studied low-income housing abroad and now teaches at CU shared the following thoughts:

> "I gave up. I have been trying very hard for many decades to promote low-income housing design at our school. The school, other tutors and students are not

interested. Studying architectural education here is all about being rich and famous. Nowadays I teach other subjects." (CU02)

"Architectural students were not taught to perceive slums as architecture. For them architecture is something to be constructed and designed, but slums emerge spontaneously." (SU03)

All CU and SU educators focussed extensively on the values architectural schools nurture and suggested that social awareness should become more integrated into architectural education for idealistic and practical reasons.

"Architectural education should open alternatives for the students to see real Thai society that is comprised mostly of the poor. We do not have to be that 'good'; if we are smart, we should know that we have to support the poor, because they support us." (SU07)

An SU educator mentioned that, there were small groups of Thai architects who were interested in the low-income population, during the era before the political uprising and movement for democracy on 14 October 1973 in Thailand. There were architectural modules teaching modular coordination for industrialization in low-income housing design. There were architectural theses about cooperatives, university for the poor and low-cost housing. After the military took control, the importance of these issues declined.

By contrast, an SU educator added that, although she agreed that slum problems should be integrated into architectural education, architectural schools should be politically neutral and be careful not to support the illegal activities of informal livelihoods and the settlements of the urban poor.

Considering architectural educators' personal attitude concerning working in slums, another SU educator stated that:

"The working site is too warm and exhausting. I prioritize aesthetics. I have to own my design. I do not want to deal with too many people." (SU03)

Not only is working in slums not her desirable place of practice, but she also does not agree with the idea of participatory design.

All CU and SU educators suggest that most architectural students want to be designers and do not value the work related to poor communities; additionally public housing

for the poor is often not considered as ‘architecture’. At the same time, they mentioned two types of architectural students who may be interested in designing for/with poor urban communities. The first group romanticizes the experience and the second patronizes the poor.

> “Architectural students who feel sympathy with the problems of the poor seem to be going to poor communities merely to make beautiful sketches of poor houses and cheap materials.” (CU01)

At the same time,

> “We [architectural educators] shall prevent our students from perceiving themselves as ‘community savers’. The role of the architects is to learn from community members, not to ‘help’ them.” (CU07)

Expressing similar views, a CU educator stated that:

> “Architectural students are often trained to feel more superior than their clients. If they have to design a hotel, they will want to ‘teach’ their clients how to sleep.” (CU01)

Finally, it is important to note that most CU and SU educators suggested that alternative architectural education could develop along with conventional architectural education.

> “Of course, we still need provider/designer architects who design outstanding buildings, but we should also broaden our architectural professional roles and extend our professional boundary.” (CU07)

4.2.2 Curriculum and Course Management

Four out of six CU educators and two out of six SU educators mentioned difficulties in the management of the alternative architectural courses focusing on the rigidity of the curriculum, cost-recovery, inadequate time and staff. It is important to note that this issue is also related to architectural values. The reason is simple. There are too many subjects undergraduate architectural students are required to learn.

> "The Ministry of Education determines the amount of credits, e.g. 30 credits for General Studies. That equals 1/5 of the whole course. The rest is determined by the ACT. There is very little room for maneuver at the undergraduate level. For postgraduate, it is more flexible. To make community practice work for/with poor urban communities could be possible here. However, will people be interested in enrolling? How do the students recover the cost of their investment in such a course? (SU02)

An educator from the Housing Department at the CU, which has low-cost housing in their postgraduate course, mentioned similar challenges. In relation to financial management of the alternative course:

> "In our postgraduate housing course, there are two units. One is about real estate development and the other is about low-income housing. There are very few students applying for the latter. We have to use money from the real estate course to cross-subsidize providing scholarships for students who are interested in low-income housing." (CU05)

There are a few initiatives from architectural tutors and students who are interested in community work. Many of them joined the community projects of the CODI *Baan Mankong* Programme or other government organizations on a voluntary basis.

> "But it was not a part of their course. They did not get official credit because the community practice schedule hardly fits into the curriculum's schedule. It is also not clear how to evaluate the students as a whole because some students may not want to do community projects. I think alternative architectural education is possible, but it requires intense internal organizational management." (SU02)

4.2.3 Support from the Government

Three out of six CU educators and two out of six SU educators asked for more support from the government for alternative architectural education and community practice. The support the educators mentioned could be divided into two groups. The first concerns financial support and the second concerns job opportunities. First, related to the previous section on the financial management of the course, the educators asked for more financial subsidies on alternative architectural courses.

> "If the society does not prioritize the problem and there is no budget for it, architects and architectural schools can hardly do anything. We do not have money. We are problem solvers, not problem identifiers." (CU04)

However, another CU educator argued that

> "Architects also claim that they cannot initiate social work if there is no financial support from other organizations, but architects can act as fund raisers, if they really want to do the work." (CU07)

Second, the first objective of the undergraduate Urban Design course at the CU was to produce architects to work in local government authorities in regional and outreach areas.

> "The concept remains the same today. However, I am not sure whether the local government authorities are ready to employ us? I know they have positions, but they have very few projects." (CU05)

4.2.4 Pedagogy

Current architectural teaching methods were criticized as an obstacle by one third of CU and SU educators.

> "Our school was established more than 70 years ago. Architectural students were trained to focus on the project and building-types rather than the problem. To be the oldest architectural school makes it very difficult to change our teaching norms." (CU03)

In relation to the teaching methods of the design studio, both the CU and SU have one architectural design studio for all students in each academic year. Although the students are divided into small groups, they receive the same brief and work on the same project respectively. An SU educator suggested that the design studio should be more flexible and diverse. It could be divided into different working units focusing on different themes. Within this approach, community practice and other interesting architectural subjects could be fitted in. The SU educator argued that the flexible and diverse design studio units are useful for both architectural students and tutors because they would be able to choose the unit which suits their interest and competence. Suggesting additional pedagogical teaching, live experiences and learning-by-doing are mentioned as important for the learning process for architectural students designing for all groups of clients.

A SU educator mentioned a challenge in the limitation of time and the improvisational and multidisciplinary nature of community practice and alternative architectural education.

> "It is impossible to bring two years of community work into a classroom. What we can do is merely to raise the awareness of architectural students concerning low-income community practice." (SU03)

> "The best teaching method is to give students a lot of freedom to think and improvise by themselves. Later, tutors may guide the students through the working process with theoretical support. However, this method cannot be employed with disinterested students because they cannot get themselves out of conventional educational norms and frameworks. They can only follow the routines." (CU05)

Another educator mentioned a similar challenge.

> "The point is to make students understand their own interests and set their own questions. Students today are not interested in questioning things." (SU03)

These statements are important as it could be compared to the roles of architectural tutors as supporters and catalysts for an alternative education. In other words, CU and SU educators implied that architectural educators may play roles as supporters and catalysts in order to support and encourage the students to want to learn by themselves and to reflect on their learning.

4.2.5 New Architectural Content: Integrating New Knowledge and Skills

One out of six CU educators and two out of six SU educators mentioned that inadequate knowledge and understanding of slum contexts and community work obstructs the integration of slums and participatory design into architectural education. In relation to supporting the new knowledge and skills, one out of six CU educators and two out of seven SU educators mentioned that learning how to design with limited resources could be a useful exercise for nurturing the creativity of architectural students.

Similar to CODI and CASE architects, a SU educator said that the knowledge of architects working for/with poor communities is not more than the knowledge of a third year architectural student.

> "They do not need hi-technology architectural knowledge. I do not think they need to study urban planning or urban design, as the modules are more for the fourth and fifth year students. In practice, they will work in teams with others. They do not need to know everything." (SU05)

It could be argued that he implied a sub-standard type of knowledge of architects that could lead to deskilling of architectural professionalism. At the same time, it also challenges Boonyabancha's statement that architects should be able to be responsible for every phase of the participatory process.

With respect to integrating participatory design into architectural schools, the minority or two out of six CU educators and one out of six SU educators perceived participatory design negatively based on two major factors. First, they perceived the concept of 'community participation' to be influenced by Western imperialism.

> "The idea came because the westerner was nostalgic about their colonial era. They perceived themselves as superior and local communities were inferior, requiring them to help local communities by letting community members participate in their process. I do not think participation is necessary in architectural practice and education. The right terminology is architectural programming analysis and behavioural design… I hate it when some people use the term 'people participation' to make themselves look better by 'helping' the poor. The right approach should be that we [architects] should learn from local communities because we do not know anything. This is not about 'participation' but to understand the programme and the user's needs." (CU01)

Second, participatory design is perceived as abandoning the main responsibility of architects in a design process.

> "I do not like participation in design. It is frustrating. If users tell architects what they want, experienced architects should be able to design it well. If we [architects] understand human needs and behavior well, we do not need participation. It is normal and useful to have users in the programming process. All types of architectural designs conduct that. For me participation helps effectively frame a design brief and make architects concern themselves with the diversity of the needs of the user, but it certainly does not make them design together." (SU03)

Considering both reasons in which one is about design effectiveness and the other relates to expert-led view, it is important to note that their statements do not mention the critical self-awareness of community members. This self-awareness can result from a learning

process of participatory design mentioned by CODI and CASE architects as an important part of an empowerment process.

By contrast, half of the CU and SU educators perceived participatory design positively. All of them suggested that participation is useful for architectural practice for all building types and for all groups of clients. Some educators encountered challenges from their lack of relevant participatory design knowledge and skills. Thus, a CU educator invited an experienced community architect to be a guest lecturer for her courses.

> "I am interested in participatory design but I do not know how to implement it in practice. I cannot devote my teaching time to practice like her [the experienced community architect who was invited to help the educator teaching]. As an architectural educator, my role is to support her on theoretical issues in teaching." (CU05)

However, those who perceive the participatory design positively were more concerned with the challenges of integrating participatory design in architectural education because of the time-consuming nature of the process. This finding relates to the obstacles of curriculum and course management and pedagogy as mentioned above.

4.3 Reflections from Alternative Architectural Educators

As part of the selected alternative architectural education experts, the researcher interviewed architectural educators from three alternative architectural courses which relate teaching content to urban poor community development. The first group includes CU06 educator[4] and the co-founder of a newly launched Masters of Architecture Program in Community and Environmental Architecture, Arsom Silp Institute of the Arts (ASIR) which is a private institution. When the research fieldwork was conducted in May 2007, the course had not started their first semester yet as it was supposed to start in September 2007. The course extensively embraces participatory design in an architectural design studio for the whole academic year. It also runs a design studio in parallel with an architectural 'office' where architectural students have opportunities to practice on live projects for real clients as a part of their education. The curriculum contains the following four major sections, listed in order of importantance: (1) training and fieldwork; (2) independent study and thesis; (3) practice and experiment; and (4) theory and seminar. The fundamental subjects include Contemplative Practices, Nature Appreciation, Community and Field Studies and Holistic Health Care. Examples of compulsory modules are Integrated and Holistic Design in Architecture, Wisdom

[4] The educator CU06 is retired from the Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University and is currently working for the ASIR as president of the institution.

in Eastern and Thai Architecture, Architecture, Community and Environment, Problem-Based and Project-Based Learning in Architecture. Examples of electives are Action-Research for Planning in Architecture Community and Environment, Aesthetics and Creativity and Appropriated Technology.

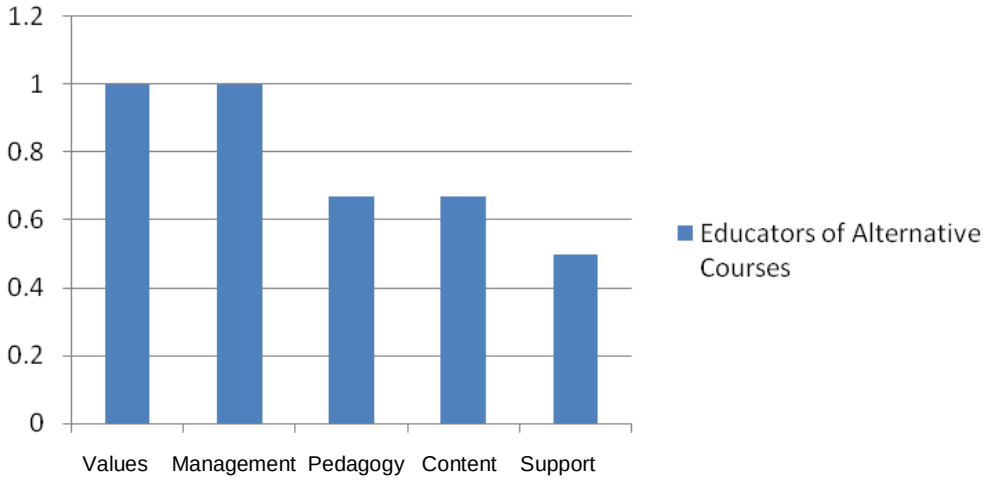
The second group of interviewees compares two lecturers from the undergraduate course of the Faculty of Architecture, Sripatum University (SPU) which is a private university. It is important to note that its curriculum is conventional. The two interviewed educators are in the minority educators as they tried to integrate slum upgrading in their teaching in an *ad hoc* manner. They used actual slum upgrading projects as live projects for their design studio for half-a-semester. They also organized short-term workshops with the ASA in local urban poor communities and encouraged their fourth year students to progress their compulsory Training module in community work at the CODI.

The third group compares three lecturers from the undergraduate course of the Urban Design Department, the Faculty of Architecture Urban Design and Creative Arts, Mahasarakham University (MSU) which is a public university located in the North-eastern region of Thailand. It is important to note that while the faculty were divided into four departments – Architecture, Urban Design, Interior, and Creative Arts – the lecturers who tried to integrate the challenge of slums and community development agenda in their classes were all from the Urban Design Department. Comparable to the second group, they used actual slum upgrading projects as live projects for their design studio for a half semester.

Based on reflections from the educators of the alternative architectural courses, the reasons identified as obstructing the integration of slums and participatory design in architectural education are varied and interrelated. They listed five main obstacles in order of the most important obstacle to the least.

- Values of architects, architectural educators and students (equally mentioned as important as Management)
- Curriculum and course management (equally mentioned as important as Values)
- Pedagogy (equally mentioned as important as Content)
- New architectural content: integrating new knowledge and skills (equally mentioned as important as Pedagogy)
- Support from the government

Figure 9-4: Reflections from educators of relevant courses: challenges of the alternative architectural education



All the interviewees mentioned the first two challenges but they placed more emphasis and discussed the first challenge in more detail. The two lecturers from MSU and two lecturers from SPU placed equal weight on the third and fourth challenges. The fifth challenge was mentioned by the co-founder of the ASIR and two lecturers from MSU.

4.3.1 Values of Architects, Architectural Educators and Students

Although both of the SPU lecturers agreed that the current architectural curriculum defined by the ACT is limited, one SPU tutor said that it depended more on the values of the architectural tutors.

> "The curriculum framework from ACT is broad enough. It depends more on whether the tutors are interested in the field or not. I was the head of the design module when I integrated community practice in a design studio. That is why I could try it out." (KEY-SPU01)

The research findings show that personal values and leadership of the founders or educators of courses seem to be a great factor for the integration of community practice into architectural education, especially for the ASIR.

> "ASIR emerged truly from the aspiration of the two main founders, who have architectural background. They have been social activists since the political events of 14 October 1973. They have a public conscience and a heightened sense of social awareness." (CU06)

At the same time, a ASIR staff member argues that the values of architectural students towards community practice, may be problematic.

> "The public does not understand how students can make a living after graduation from such a course. I think our graduates can also work in commercial offices, but they will do their commercial practice with social awareness… Personally, I would prefer if they work with poor communities, but we cannot force the students. It is up to them." (KEY-ASIR)

Similarly, a MSU educator noted one of the greatest challenges they faced:

> "From 30 students, there may be only four to five people who are interested in community work. For this year, there is none." (KEY-MSU03)

Furthermore, as the SPU is a private university, the interviewed SPU educators said the challenges related more to the values of university executives.

> "The university executives assumed that the students at our school mainly wanted to to make money when they graduated, even though there are many students from remote provinces at our school." (KEY-SPU01)

4.3.2 Curriculum and Course Management

The courses from the SPU and MSU are different from that of the ASIR, because they are at the undergraduate level. They encountered many challenges because of the rigid undergraduate curriculum. An MSU educator claimed that the ACT did not value community practice as important for the architectural profession. He also stated that the ACT may not allow him to officially integrate the work in the architectural curriculum.

With respect to the SPU, the community practice activities are not officially embedded in the architectural design studio, although a tutor had tried to do this. The activities were part of an architectural workshop (non-creditable for the degree) collaborating with the ASA and the compulsory training modules for the fourth year student of an architectural undergraduate level, collaborating with the CODI.

> "I was very happy to introduce community practice to our students by organizing a workshop for the ASA because it was on a voluntary basis. I had tried to integrate it

> as a compulsory part into a design studio. Not all the students enjoyed it. It did not succeed at all." (KEY-SPU01)

Faced with the challenges of the rigid existing architectural curriculum, especially the undergraduate architectural courses, the ASIR, which is a private institution supported by its partner-foundation, started their community practice programme at the postgraduate level.

> "The students will not have to worry about their architectural license because they will already receive it from their undergraduate study. If we [ASIR] want to integrate it in the undergraduate course, ACT has to approve it. It will take a lot of time to explain the programme to ACT, so we plan to do that later." (CU07)

The co-founder of the ASIR added that:

> "We also want to do some experiments on our teaching methods first. If we started with the undergraduate course, it needs a 5-year plan at once." (KEY-ASIR)

Introducing the programme at the postgraduate level has another advantage for the ASIR because all architectural schools have undergraduate courses. Thus, it is very competitive.

> "The students may not be rich [wry laugh] when they graduate and work with poor communities. Therefore, their parents may not support their children to study at the ASIR." (CU07)

Inadequate numbers of experienced architectural staff on community practice is also mentioned as an obstacle for course development. Furthermore, it is difficult to match conventional teaching schedules with different and unpredictable phases of the live community projects.

> "The students and tutors have to work on weekends. They will not have holidays. They may have to work late in the evening. The project consumes a lot of time. That is why many people who are interested and have good intentions eventually walk away." (KEY-MSU03)

> "We [tutors] have to adapt our lectures all the time because each community has different issues to focus on and each working phase requires a different role for architects." (KEY-MSU02)

Finally, ASIR staff mentioned professional networks as important and course schedules which have to be managed accordingly.

> "We try to encourage collaboration and networks with the CODI, other governmental organizations and international universities, for example Oxford Brookes University which has similar courses. That is why our academic term starts in September[5] to make the collaboration easier… Professional networks are very important." (CU06)

4.3.3 Pedagogy

Semi-structure interviews with the educators of alternative architectural course confirmed that a new pedagogy is required to nurture the new architectural professionalism in architectural schools. The ASIR proposed new architectural pedagogy for their newly launched course. Unlike other conventional architectural courses where students have to learn many modules in an academic term, community practice consumes a lot of time because it can hardly be integrated with other modules. Thus, the course focuses on only 2-3 modules per semester. The students spend four to five weeks in a row on a module. The design studio focuses extensively on group-work, on-site practice and live projects working with actual clients in a community. Not only does this make the course feasible because the ASIR design studio will get funds from clients such as the CODI, but it also bridges the gap between education and practice.

> "The idea is also to bring students from the Education Department of the ASIR to a community to work with architectural students. All students will work with local community members. The tutors will be coaches and work on-site with the students." (CU06)

An important teaching method the ASIR supports is to nurture a learning process from genuine friendships between architectural tutors and students. Both will learn together.

> "We have to be very selective of tutors. To teach is to show the students how to do things by doing it. " (KEY-ASIR)

This implies breaking down the boundary between a 'teacher' who gives and a 'student' who takes. This approach can be compared to the new architects' role as supporters and catalysts. In other words, the roles of ASIR tutors are facilitating dialogue, building up the local capacity of the students in basic architectural design and community

[5] Normally the first academic term for universities in Thailand starts in June.

practice principles, encouraging a learning process between tutors and students and balancing the inputs from the two. Ultimately, the new role of an architectural educator is to empower a student to believe in him/herself, learn by him/herself and being reflective about what he/she learned.

With respect to MSU's teaching methods, the tutors integrated community practice in a design studio in the first semester of the fourth year of study and in the Training module of the Urban Design course. The tutors and students worked on live projects sub-contracted from the CODI. Time constraint was mentioned most often by MSU lecturers as an obstacle.

> "The students cannot 'finish' the project in an academic year. Thus, we continue their work with the new student groups of the next academic year." (KEY-MSU01)

> "Because of the limited time, students cannot do participatory design with community members. They did not ask community members to design houses or site plans together. They only visited the site, interviewed the locals, made design solutions according to the data gained and then went back to get feedback from the community members." (KEY-MSU02)

His last statement can imply the working process at a consultation level of participation, but does not reach the level of empowerment. At the same time, the feasibility of setting empowerment as a goal for undergraduate architectural students is questionable given the other obstacles mentioned above.

Finally, short-term workshops, conducted on a voluntary basis for the students, are mentioned as a useful pedagogical tool. However a SPU educator criticized that:

> "Because of the short term nature of a workshop, it can hardly improve the conditions of the local communities. In fact, persons who gain the most from the workshop are the students, not the communities." (KEY-SPU02)

The statement is a crucial paradox because how to balance what local communities get with what architectural schools gain is difficult to define. Therefore, SPU educators focused more on the 2-3 months Training Module than short-term workshops, because the students can finalize their projects in the longer term.

4.3.4 New Architectural Content: Integrating New Knowledge and Skills

Similarly to the groups of NHA, CODI and CASE architects, architectural professional institutions and CU and SU educators, SPU educators mentioned inadequate understanding and knowledge of community practice and the roles of architectural educators as an important obstacle. One SPU educator, although sub-contracted to undertake many CODI community projects, was not comfortable playing the role of social worker. He also stated that he does not include the knowledge and skills of the participatory design process.

> "Some architects used participatory design techniques to get the attention of the people and to negotiate with them. Some cut models and planned the site with the people. I cannot do those." (KEY-SPU02)

The research findings emphasize that shaping and defining the roles and responsibility of architects when working with the urban poor community by using participation and empowerment in the design process is an important step to scale up the alternative architectural education. This research aims to fill this gap. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge other barriers in order to support alternative architectural education at scale.

4.3.5 Support from the Government and other Partners

MSU educators call for more support and recognition of the architectural profession from the government and other partners.

> "Local government authorities do not have enough job positions for architects. The public – local authorities, community members and ordinary people – also do not see the significance of the work of architects." (KEY-MSU02)

Another MSU educator questioned the political will and commitment of the government on low-income housing problems.

> "Many of our students work at the CODI. I am a bit worried because CODI emerged from the political will of a certain time. I do not know how long it will last. That is why we would not want to emphasize community development too much in our course. We are afraid the CODI will be dissolved someday." (KEY-MSU01)

Other educators mentioned financial support.

> "This type of course needs a big budget, because we focus on quality. We need a lot of staff and tutors. The ASIR got cross-subsidized from our private partner foundations and the income from our practice-based design studio which is a part of the course… whether we will get more support from outsiders or not depends on us. The course has to prove itself to the public that it is useful. If the public values it, more financial support may follow." (KEY-ASIR)

Other educators mentioned challenges when collaborating with other partner-organizations.

> "CODI social organizers left us in the middle of the working process because they had to work on other community projects. I could not do their work. I am not a social organizer." (KEY-SPU02)

Similarly, MSU tutors also experienced difficulties in working as social workers. They said that it would be easier if CODI social workers could help organize community members in the first phase and then transfer the work to architects. This finding reflects the need for teamwork and technical support from working partners for architectural educators.

5. Challenges and Barriers of the Alternative Architectural Education

Reflections from NHA, CODI and CASE architects, architectural professional institutions, educators from CU, SU and alternative architectural courses confirm that current conventional architectural education mainly produces architects who work for private developers supporting the capitalist market. Although, there are a few examples of *ad hoc* alternative architectural courses which have tried to integrate slums and participatory design into its curriculum, all of them experienced different challenges. The research findings show that the most important barrier obstructing the alternative architectural education is the values of architectural insiders – architects, architectural educators and students. First, a lack of a personal will and interest related to social responsibility towards slum problems undermines the integration of the issue into conventional architectural education. Second, 'slums' are not recognized as relevant to the architectural agenda. Most CU and SU educators acknowledge opportunities and the local capacity of slum dwellers, especially with respect to their use of low-cost materials in the construction of their houses, but they perceived the roles of architects as minimal in tackling the slum problem.

At the same time, it is important to note that in working with poor urban communities, the role of architects as 'educators' was mentioned by the study populations. They argued

that if architectural schools could train their students to be ‘educators’, the students could work responsively with any type of clients – rich or poor. For them, being ‘educator architects’ means acting as a coach for community members, not ‘designers’. At the same time, the researcher argues that the alternative role of architectural educators for the alternative architectural education should be shifted from teachers who provide and control to teachers who support and catalyse their students to learn by themselves. They should also exchange dialogue and include their students in the teaching content and pedagogy. Reflective practice – knowing-in-action, reflection-in-action and reflection on reflection-in-action – is also mentioned as an important element in the alternative pedagogy in order to nurture the alternative architectural education. Therefore, these findings imply that the roles of both architects and educators under the new architectural professionalism and alternative architectural education are similar to the role of ‘reflective educators’ who encompass different values, knowledge and skills related to the roles of providers, supporters and catalysts working ‘with’ community members or architectural students.

The second most important barrier concerns curriculum and course management. Insufficient time for time-consuming community work during short-time semester, lack of staff who have the appropriate knowledge and skills, and a perception of the unsafe environment of community work are mentioned as the crucial factors that make community work more difficult and less attractive than architectural office work.

In relation to the new architectural content, most interviewed architects and educators said that ‘participation’ could enrich architectural programming because it makes design more effective to users. However, many architectural educators have an inadequate understanding of how to implement it in practice. Most interviewed educators focused on what architects could gain from participation and from working with community members – to make their architectural programme more effective to the needs of the users. None of them mentioned or acknowledged that participatory design could be implemented as a tool for the empowerment of community members.

In relation to the new pedagogy, a design studio was positively referred to as a useful teaching method for nurturing the open-minded character of architectural students which is mentioned as an important quality by CODI and CASE architects when working with urban poor communities. Simultaneously the architectural ‘crit’ was suggested to be more open to real clients and less concerned with the tutors. Group-working, learning from implementing live projects and flexible teaching methods are key elements to nurture teamwork and improvisational skills of architectural students. Moreover, due to the rigid curriculum of the undergraduate architectural course, more diverse optional alternative modules related to community practice, short-term workshops and encouraging students to choose community

work in their Training Module in the fourth year are recommended as a useful means in order to make small changes. To transform the structure of the curriculum defined by the Ministry of Education and ACT is recognized by all as a huge challenge.

Finally, more serious collaboration amongst conventional architectural schools, alternative architectural courses, architectural professional institutions, practitioners and organizations such as CODI and CASE architects, local governmental authorities which are responsible for dealing with low-income housing and the civil-society networks of local communities need to be strengthened. Some important factors to nurture alternative architectural education include the government's political will and commitment to solve the problem of urban poor community, financial subsidies from government authorities for community projects or alternative architectural courses, serious partnerships, teamwork and technical support between architectural schools and CODI in the implementation of *Baan Mankong* programme in different phases and credit endorsement for community.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

1. Introduction

The research set out to explore the role of architects in addressing the emergence and growth of informal settlements which represent the majority of the built environment in most developing countries, as a great number of people – one out of three urban dwellers (or one out of six people worldwide) – already lives in a slum. The research explored to what extent the boundary of architectural design can expand from mainly serving 1% of the world population (Correa, 1997) to a larger group of people. The research findings confirm that architects and architectural schools today perceive the problems of informal settlements as irrelevant to the architectural profession. This is because the architectural profession has for the most part been serving the elites for thousands of years. In the modern architecture period, the issue of low-income housing has become increasingly relevant to architectural design and architects put themselves at the core of the design process in a top-down way. The lessons learned from the failure of many top-down public housing projects in the modern architecture period (Jencks, 1977) show that efforts to solve social problems require more than good will, altruistic architects or improvements in the physical environment. It is necessary to explore new values, knowledge and skills of architects in order for architects to be relevant to the greater part of the world population and the built environment.

A shift from a providing paradigm to a supporting paradigm in global housing policies for the urban poor defines new roles of and relationships amongst the state, the private sector and civil society and also calls for a new role for architects and the architectural profession – the 'architecture of empowerment.' Thailand is an excellent example as it recently launched two major nationwide urban poor housing schemes. One is the non-participatory standardized low-cost housing *Baan Eau Arthorn* Programme implemented by NHA architects providing ready-to-occupy housing units for low-income earners. The other is the participatory slum upgrading *Baan Mankong* Programme conducted by the CODI and CASE architects supporting the improvement of slum communities across Thailand. NHA, CODI and CASE architects are the main study population of this research. The work of CODI and the CASE architects represent the new architectural professionalism of 'designing with' the people, while NHA architects represents a 'designing for' the people approach. The aim of interviewing them is to compare the differences and similarities of their professionalism.

Under the current global Non-conventional Housing Policy Phase III (Fiori et al., 2000), scaling-out, scaling up and institutional change are the important elements (Gaventa, 1998) to solve slum problems at scale. CODI's *Baan Mankong* Programme reflects all the important characteristics of scaling-out, scaling up and institutional change in its people-

centred community development. Thus, it is important to reflect and learn from Thailand's practice and challenges. The researcher observed the challenges of rapid scaling up in the CODI *Baan Mankong* Programme, such as routinization in the practice of CODI and CASE architects under the programme. At the same time, although the practice of CASE architects tended to be less routine and showed more concern for the diversity of the communities than CODI architects, the effectiveness of their practice is inconsistent because of their time-consuming working processes and the lack of concrete commitment to solve the problem at scale. The research findings confirm that CODI and CASE architects encountered dilemmas between the necessity to solve the problem of informal settlements at scale versus the low effectiveness of their design projects under the CODI *Baan Mankong* Programme.

The researcher acknowledges the tensions between using 'participation' and 'empowerment' for inclusive democracy and cost-efficiency, including these of romanticisation and exploitation respectively. At the same time, the researcher is interested in making the dichotomy converge rather than diverge, because, as mentioned in Chapter 2, it is important to move beyond the 'tyranny' and 'transformation' antinomy. Theoretical frameworks of exploring 'participation' in the debates of ends-means and the level of participation are employed. As empowerment is mentioned as an end of participation, this research uses Friere's concept of *conscientisacion* as a key theoretical concept to analyse the elements of empowerment. Friere's 'true education' means using education as a means towards a deeper understanding of the situation in which the oppressed live, in an attempt to encourage them to take action to transform the situation that oppresses them. The three elements in Freire's 'true education', which are to encourage the oppressed to believe in themselves, act collectively for themselves and reflect on their actions, are all shown in the practice of CODI and CASE architects and are absent in the practice of NHA architects.

From Figure 3-2: Research Conceptual Framework, for this research, the 'new architectural professionalism' means values, knowledge and skills related to participation and empowerment of the practice of CODI and CASE architects, who are working with urban poor communities in an *ad hoc* manner without being officially trained from architectural school. The research observes that there is a gap between the values, knowledge and skills of Thai architects and the challenges posed by slums in the cities of Thailand. The gap is being filled informally by the movement of the 'new professionalism' amongst 'community architects' – CODI and CASE architects – and a largely *ad hoc* alternative architectural education in Thailand has emerged in support. The blurring of the boundary between understanding of the roles of the architect as provider, supporter and catalyst within the 'new architectural professionalism' inhibits the development of a new professionalism and alternative architectural education at scale. This research aims to address, understand and challenge the boundaries between the three roles of architects. As mentioned, this research is a

reflection on the practice of CODI and CASE architects. Therefore, it sets out to compare the 'theories of action' (Forester, 1999, Argyris and Schon, 1974, Argyris et al., 1985, Forester, 1989, Schon, 1983, Schon, 1987) of NHA, CODI and CASE architects, which comprises their espoused theories and theories-in-use. The congruence between them is explored. According to the 'theory of action', in order to understand the effectiveness of architects in practice, reflections from the practice of NHA, CODI and CASE architects are explored in parallel with reflections from their clients.

The research question is, in response to the theories of Freire's 'true education' (1972) and Schon's reflective practice (1983, 1987), how do the 'alternative architectural education' and the 'new architectural professionalism' – values, knowledge and skills – associated with the roles of the educator and architect as provider, supporter and catalyst change as participation and empowerment is integrated into architectural responses to the provision of housing for the poor and architectural education? First, the research findings confirm that the alternative architectural education and the new architectural professionalism require a new approach of problem setting and problem solving for architectural educators and architects. New values of architects and architectural educators concerning the roles of supporters and catalysts are important. The alternative architectural education and the new architectural professionalism calls for the transformation of the power structure between architectural educators versus their students in a classroom and architects versus their clients in a design process. It is important to emphasize that basic architectural design knowledge and skills of architects as providers remain useful but need to be employed for different aims, as values change.

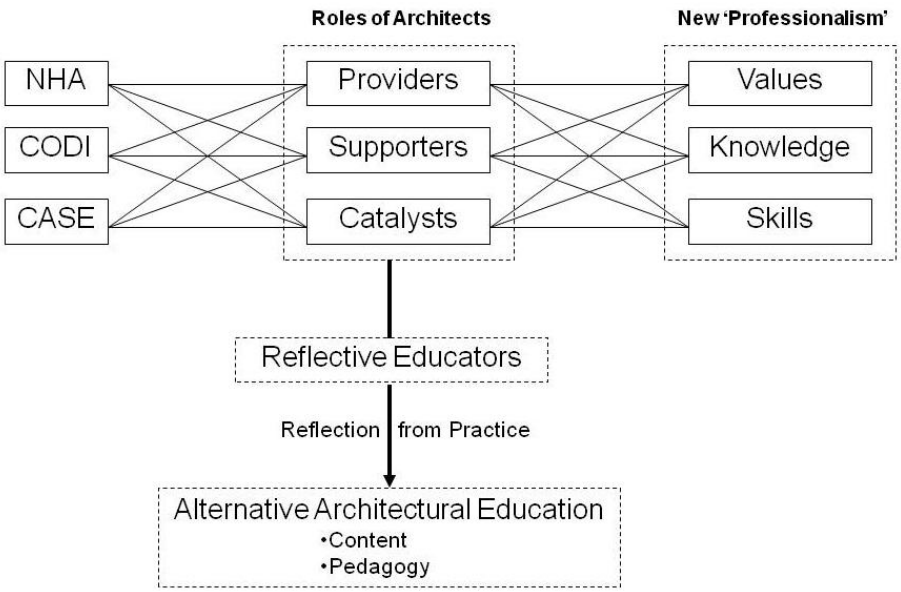
Second, this research defines the 'alternative architectural education' as the integration of the 'new architectural professionalism' of CODI and CASE architects in the form of new architectural content – nurturing the new values including design, socio-cultural and political-institutional knowledge and skills of participatory design – and a new pedagogy which promotes reflective learning and practice. Barriers and challenges to the integration of an alternative architectural education in mainstream architectural education are explored through reflections from NHA, CODI and CASE architects, architectural professional institutions and educators from CU, SU and alternative architectural courses. The research findings show that transformation of the values of architectural insiders – architects, architectural educators and students – is the most important barrier to be dealt with in order to scale up the alternative architectural education.

In relation to research methodology, there are five study populations. In total, 31 architects, 46 clients of the studied architects, 14 architectural educators, 2 representatives of architectural professional associations and 15 selected housing and alternative architectural

education experts were interviewed. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all study populations. The method helped to explore the field inductively. The researcher acted as observer-as-participants by playing the role of an assistant for the studied CODI and CASE architects on live projects helping them organizing community meetings. Role playing the community architects' everyday practice, albeit for a short time, supports better understanding of the researcher towards the practice of studied CODI and CASE architects. Content analysis is employed through the use of a 'photo analysis' method with the study populations of the architect group (NHA, CODI and CASE) and the educator group (CU and SU). The method was conducted to explore how people saw and interpreted the world based on their professionalism and background. The method helped the researcher gain more spontaneous opinions from the study populations.

Figure 10-1 below illustrates the framework for the research conclusions. It shows the complex combination of the new architectural professionalism shaped by reflecting on the practice of CODI and CASE architects in a comparison with NHA architects. It is important to point out that although NHA architects do not practice as a part of the 'new architectural professionalism' as defined by this research, exploring their role was very useful to unravel the intertwining relations between the roles of provider, supporter and catalyst. Even though these three roles entail different values, their knowledge and skills overlap.

Figure 10-1: Framework for research conclusions



2. The 'New Architectural Professionalism'

Conventional architects are trained to play the role of providers, making design decisions for their clients. It is an architectural norm which has existed for thousands of years. This research is interested in challenging that norm by extending the boundaries of that role. The research puts forward the notion that the knowledge and skills of the architect as provider remain important, but they are not enough to effectively deal with the challenges posed by informal settlements. The relevant parts of the provider's knowledge and skills concerning the new architectural professionalism are illustrated in Table 10-1 below. The research findings from the chosen NHA housing project show that when architects play the role mainly as providers, the effectiveness of their design appears to be low because the design does not meet the needs and does not address their urban-poor clients' aspiration. Community bonds amongst members are also very loose and low. There was no people-organization development nurtured through the architectural design process. There is no communication or learning process in the design process, thus, the clients remain passive recipients. Moreover, the research findings from CODI and CASE architects' clients from the chosen projects show that they are active in the decision making processes when architects play the role of supporter. The learning process amongst different actors is encouraged in the process of dialogue. The local capacity of community members is also built up. Finally, CODI and CASE architects' clients are empowered in all three dimensions – personal, relational and collective – when architects play the role of catalyst. At the personal level, the clients learn to exercise their 'power to' believe in themselves and to strengthen their 'power from within' in order to make decisions for themselves and raise their self-awareness about the situation that affects their possibilities for improving their life through the process of improving their house and community. At the relational level, they learn to negotiate with other community members in the participatory design process. At the collective level, they exercise their 'power with' other community members by working together, and make collective decisions about design, construction, cost estimation and management, including learning to negotiate with the state. Finally, in relation to the different completion periods of the chosen projects of CODI and CASE architects, the research findings confirm that when architects playing the roles as supporters and catalysts, the community bonds and networks can clearly be strengthened through a participatory design process. At the same time, community bonds were clearly diminishing after the project was completed. Thus, this implies that new supportive or catalytic interventions are required to be inserted, either by the architects themselves or they can team-work with other workers from multi-disciplinary after the project is completed.

The new architectural role of architects as reflective educators comprises the three professionalisms of architects as provider, supporter and catalyst. In relation to values, the

new architectural professionalism relate to the roles of supporter and catalyst. While the supporter role involves design and employing the design process as a tool to support community members to make decisions for themselves, the catalyst role employs the design process as a tool for encouraging community empowerment. In contrast, the provider role involves design to 'control'. The responsibility and the values of each role of the architect are clearly distinguished, but the architects' knowledge and skills overlap. In other words, the values of the new architectural professionalism of CODI and CASE architects are those of supporters and catalysts, yet the knowledge and skills of the provider, trained in conventional architectural schools remains important in the practice of the new architectural professionalism.

There are conditions underlining each role of architects.

- Architect's personal values, knowledge and skills
- Organizational policies and supports
- Clients' attitudes to participation and the participatory design process

For example, NHA architects' have the same values of a negative perception of slums and a positive view of participatory design. However, they cannot translate them into practice because of their organization's housing policies. At the same time, NHA clients agreed with the non-participatory design approach of the programme. Thus, NHA architects play the role of provider and simultaneously felt dissatisfied with their work. CODI and CASE architects play the roles of supporter and catalyst because their organizations support them while the majority of their clients have positive approaches to participatory design, but nevertheless, they still faced challenges in their practice.

In relation to values, at the individual level, CODI and CASE architects see more 'opportunities' in the problems of slums than NHA architects. The challenge of the act of romanticising has to be acknowledged. At the same time, different organizational values nurture different professional values. NHA architects, whose organization does not emphasize a people-centred approach in its housing policy, tends to perceive slums negatively and mainly focus on physical matters, in contrast to CODI and CASE architects.

Table 10-1: The new architectural professionalism: architects as reflective educators

Roles of Architects	Values	Knowledge	Skills
1. Provider (Focusing on architects) • Determining basic infrastructure and facilities for communities • Designing community houses and site planning	Control	**Design** • Basic design and site planning principles, such as, safety, building orientation, natural ventilation, lighting and climatic design • Technical architectural drawings • Low-cost building materials and construction • Cost estimation and feasibility studies • Thailand building regulations and Housing Estate Act	**Design** • Site planning and house design
2. Supporter (Focusing on architects, community members and other stakeholders) • Facilitating dialogue amongst stakeholders • Balancing individual and collective needs of community members with inputs of architects under their organizational policy in a participatory design process • Building up local capacity of community members towards basic architectural design principles • Supporting people-organization development • Supporting community bonds and expanding community networks	Support and learn	• Acknowledgement of participatory design process. **Socio-cultural** • Sensitive user's needs in architectural design programming • Urban poor's lifestyle and livelihoods • Flexibility and adaptability in small-space spatial design • Cheap and discarded building materials • Local or informal construction techniques	**Socio-cultural** • Architectural presentation and communication • Observation and listening
3. Catalyst (Focusing on community members) • Raising awareness and self-confidence of community members • Encouraging community members to collectively act for themselves • Encouraging community members to reflect on their action	Empower and learn	**Political-institutional** • Community facilitation and dialogue versus the three elements in a participatory design process • Local capacity building • People-organization development • The emergence and diminishing of community bonds networks • Power relations amongst stakeholders	**Political-institutional** • Improvisation • Negotiation • Organizing people-organization

Provider
Supporter
Catalyst

The research findings confirm that there is a tension between the necessity to scale up community participation and empowerment in housing provision for the poor urban communities and reflective practice. As mentioned, NHA, CODI and CASE as organizations have different values and policy concerning solving slum problems at scale. The difference influences the organizations' architects' professionalism – the different balances of the diverse roles of architects as providers, supporter and catalysts – as illustrated in Figure 6-1, Figure 7-1 and Figure 8-1. NHA architects adopt their organization policies and implemented standardized housing solutions in order to scale up their problem solving. Comparably, CODI architects employed routinization, such as, having clear working steps and the use of CODI house catalogues and saving groups as tools in the *Baan Mankong* Programme. On the contrary, CASE disregards the idea of solving slum problems at scale. Focusing on their reflective practice, NHA architects' practice encompasses only knowing-in-action of working on basic site planning procedures according to the TOR. The nature of NHA architects' everyday practice does not require them to improvise. Their work is standardized without any concrete intervention to learn from their own successes or mistakes. On the other hand, both CODI and CASE architects encompass knowing-in-action of participatory design knowledge and skills. They also emphasize the great importance of reflection-in-action or improvisation because of a number of unpredictable factors in their practice. Although CODI architects' practice has become relatively more routine and standardized than CASE architects', it is important to note that CODI architects encompass a higher degree of reflection on reflection-in-action than CASE architects because of the institutional support from CODI policy. An example is the establishment of 'learning centres' in *Baan Mankong* projects. It is important to note that the use of CODI 'learning centre' illustrates the three elements of scaling up (Gaventa, 1998) – scaling up by increasing the quantity of participants using internal encouragement amongst the people's peers, scaling out by using finished projects as a place for sharing knowledge and experiences and institutional will to support the idea at scale clearly shown as helpful in practice. CODI policy also supports site visits as a means to facilitate dialogue amongst community members from different projects. The two methods support the reflection on reflection-in-action of community members, as well as that of CODI architects. At the same time, the research findings confirm that the attempt to scale up participatory housing policy of *Baan Mankong* programme is challenging reflective practice. For example, routinization and standardization are helpful and important but could obstruct improvisation and discourage new creative interventions from taking place and thus the diversity of community needs might be ignored.

In relation to the new architectural knowledge and skills, CODI and CASE architects gained most of their knowledge and skills from sources other than their architectural school, such as everyday practice and *ad hoc* trainings. The three types of knowledge and skills – architectural design, socio-cultural and political-institutional as described in detail in Table 10-

1 – are interconnected both in the theory and practice of the new architectural professionalism. While the first two are widely introduced in the conventional architectural school with a greater emphasis on the design knowledge, the last one is absent from conventional architectural education. CODI and CASE architects had to learn about political-institutional knowledge and skills mainly from practice and *ad hoc* trainings. Moreover, the researcher argued that the knowledge and skills related to the role of provider focuses mainly on the learning process of architects. The knowledge and skills related to the role of supporter is the most complex one concerning the learning process amongst architects, community members and other stakeholders. The impact of the catalyst's knowledge and skills focuses mainly on encouraging self-awareness of community members.

'Participation' is very important in the context of new architectural values, knowledge and skills and is employed by CODI and CASE architects in practice as a means and an end – for design efficiency and effectiveness, capacity building and empowerment. NHA, CODI and CASE architects employ their architectural design knowledge and skills for both process and product matters. Architects in the role of provider seem to focus more on the product of a design process and aim for efficiency and effectiveness of their design. In the role of supporter, architects focus on the design process and use it as a tool for local capacity building. As a catalyst, architects use the design process for community empowerment. The distinction between the research's espoused theory and theory-in-use in the diagram below is illustrated to confirm that in practice realms are overlapping and interactive. Thus, the dichotomy of a means or an end in participation and architectural design is integrated rather than divergent in practice.

Figure 10-2: Research espoused theory and theory-in-use and the relationships of the end and means of participation and architectural design

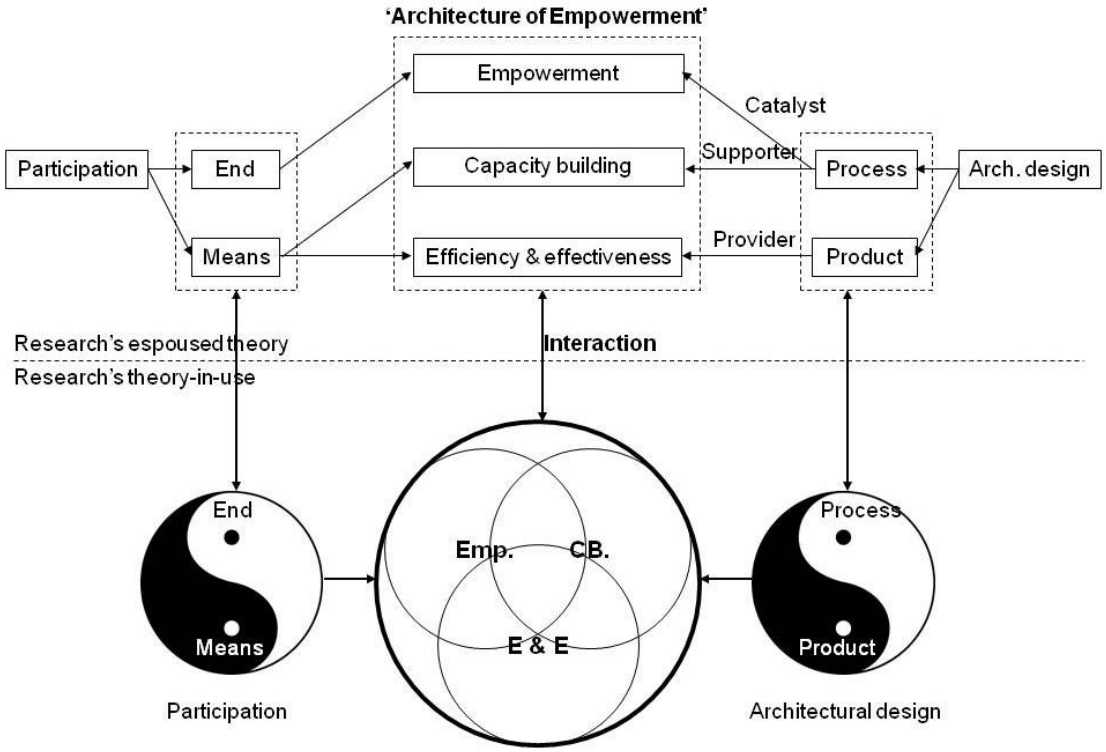


Figure 10-2 above illustrates the divergence of the providing, supporting and catalyst paradigms in the practice of the new architectural professionalism. In the aspect of espoused theory, while the new values of the architects as supporter and catalyst aim at employing architectural design process as a tool for local capacity building and empowerment, the knowledge and skills of the new architectural professionalism also prioritize the efficiency and effectiveness of the design product. In other words, it involves all, product-process, efficiency and effectiveness, local capacity building and empowerment. In theory-in-use, architects have to balance all factors to different degrees according to the values, knowledge and skills related to participation and empowerment of themselves, their organization and their clients.

The researcher argues that not only are the three roles of provider, supporter and catalyst related in the values, knowledge and skills of the new professionalism of CODI and CASE architects in their espoused theory and theory-in-use, but the roles are also interconnected in their working process. Figure 10-3 below shows CODI and CASE acknowledgement related to the working process of their new architectural professionalism. CODI and CASE architects' ultimate aim as a catalyst is to empower community members in order to encourage them to believe in themselves, act for themselves and reflect on their actions. However, they acknowledged that this objective is not easily reached in one step. Therefore, they employ small-scale design-related and non-design-related interventions as

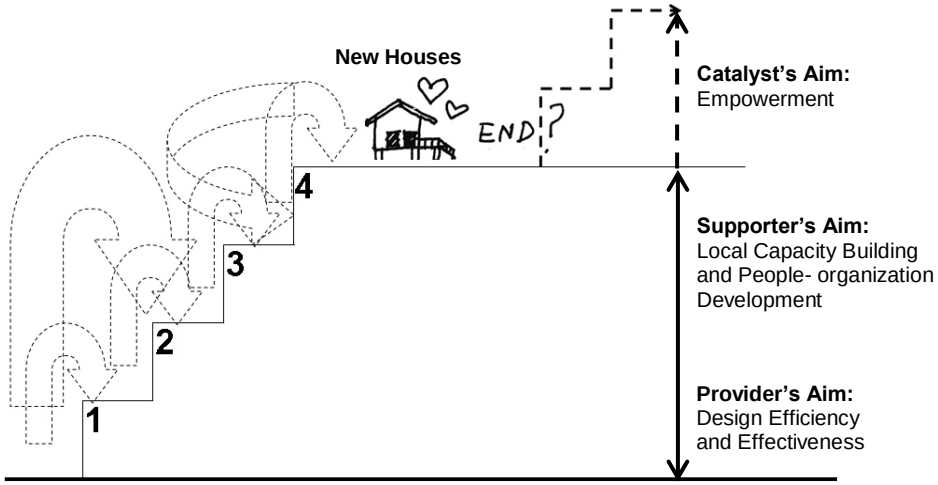
catalytic factors, strengthening bonds between community members and building up people's organization in order to create the next steps to achieve greater goals. Through the implementation of small steps, different roles of architects are involved. For example, while the provider role focuses on design efficiency and effectiveness of the intervention, the supporter role uses small interventions to build up local capacity and people-organization development. All these interventions are employed as a step to reach the ultimate goal of empowerment. It is important to emphasize that in practice the steps are not linear. CODI and CASE architects simultaneously improvise their roles as supporter and catalyst in no strict order.

The first step is normally a small pilot project and can be many things, such as, the construction of a walkway, organizing garbage collection day, film night, aerobic-exercise class for housewives, art workshop with kids, design and planning workshop, cost estimation, building materials supplying, skills trainings and the construction of houses. It is suggested by CODI and CASE architects that there is no end step in their working process. The practice is an ongoing process which requires reflective practice to facilitate the process to keep it running. The challenge is that the working process is unpredictable and unclear.

> "Sometimes you have to go back from step 4 to step 1, if the pilot fails. Some pilots make a big jump from step 1 to step 3. You have to be reflective and evaluate things all the time while working…to go forward or backward …and to improvise." (CASE03)

Figure 10-3 implies that when the new house is finished, it does not mean that the process of empowerment is finished. Houses and the production of building/improving houses are used merely as a tool for empowerment in personal, relation and collective dimensions. After the house is finished, more catalytic intervention needs to be designed and implemented in order to maintain and strengthen community bonds and networks. However this is not necessarily done solely by the architects. Working with practitioners from multidisciplinary sectors can be more encouraging for architects after a housing project is completely built.

Figure 10-3: The working process of the new architectural professionalism



Source: Adapted from an interview with Roonrakwit (2007)

3. Implications for Architectural Education

Reflection on the practice of NHA, CODI and CASE architects helps shape the new architectural content to be nurtured in the alternative architectural education. As the new architectural professionalism is defined, it is clear that there are gaps in conventional architectural education concerning the values, knowledge and skills it nurtures. Considering values, conventional architectural education focuses on the provider role of architects who design to control. Considering knowledge and skills, socio-cultural and political-institutional aspects of architectural design processes and products as listed in Table 10-1 above need to be introduced and promoted in conventional architectural education in order to educate the new type of community architects.

The research findings show that the most important barrier is the values of architectural insiders – architects, architectural educators and students – who often perceive slums negatively or as irrelevant to architectural practice. The second is the rigidity of architectural curriculum and difficulty in course management. The third is the lack of understanding of the new architectural content or the new knowledge and skills of the new architectural professionalism. The fourth is the inadequate development of the new pedagogy and the lack of support from architectural outsiders. More collaboration amongst conventional architectural schools, alternative architectural courses, architectural professional institutions, practitioners and organizations such as CODI and CASE architects, local governmental authorities, which are responsible for dealing with low-income housing and the civil-society networks of local communities, need to be supported.

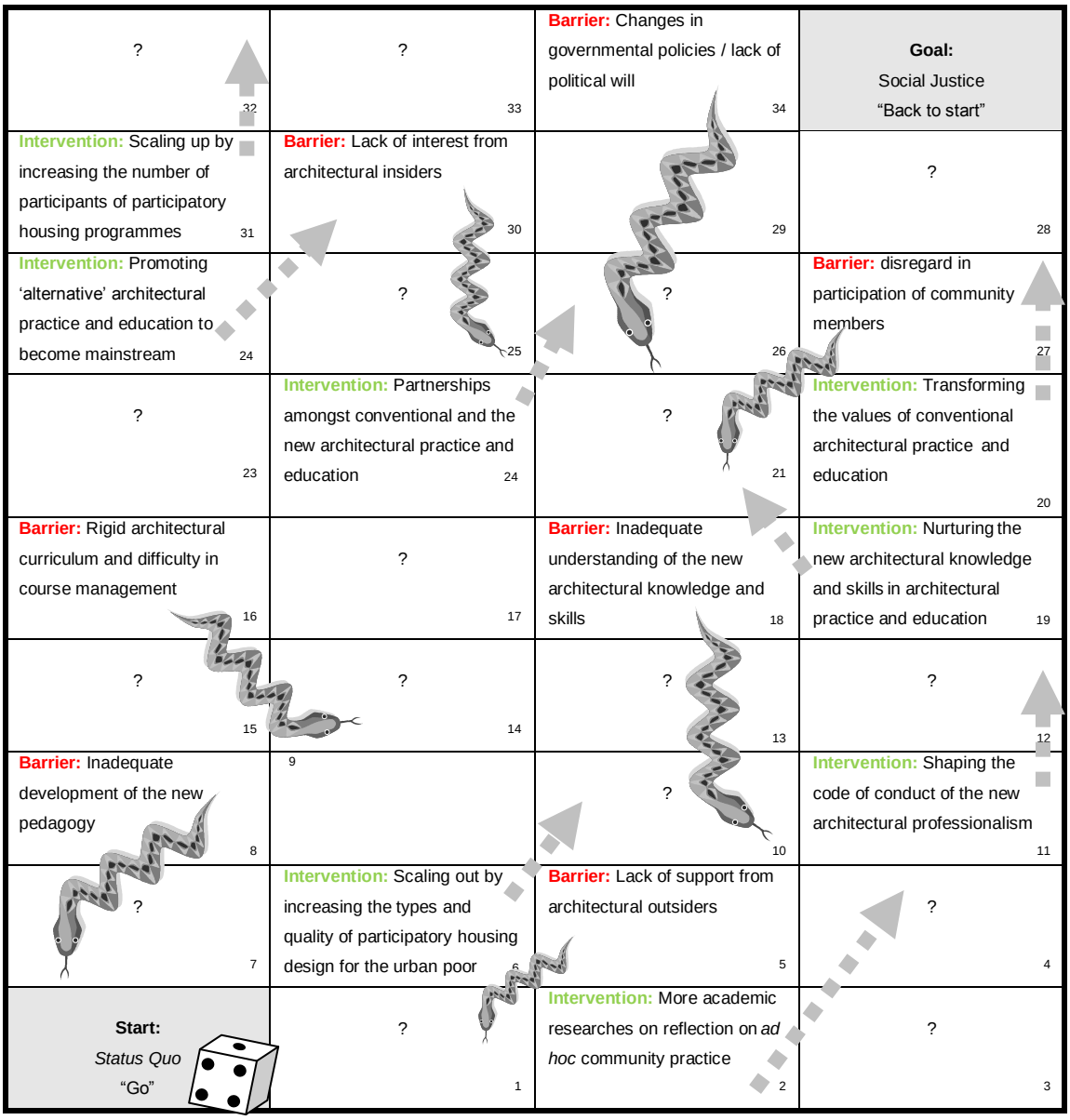
From the research findings, the researcher argues that for architectural educators to achieve Freire's 'true education', they have to play the role of 'reflective educators', employing alternative architectural pedagogy to support and catalyse their students to learn by themselves. In other words, the new alternative architectural education calls for the transformation of the power structure between architectural tutors and their students in the classroom and design studio. Furthermore, a partnership between the practices of the architects who encompass the new architectural professionalism and the alternative architectural education is important. The reflective learning process and partnerships between the two are key to encourage the new architectural discipline.

With respect to the development of new architectural values and architectural pedagogy, seminar, design studio and group work are mentioned as useful teaching methods to nurture the open-minded character of the students. With regard to new architectural knowledge, alternative optional subject modules concerning the new architectural knowledge as mentioned in Table 10-1 are mentioned as useful subject modules to integrate in conventional architectural curriculum. With regard to skills, the principles of the reflective practice of the new architectural professionalism – knowing-in-action, reflection-on-action and reflection on reflection-in-action – are necessary for reflective education. The research findings preliminarily confirm that learning from live projects by conducting site visits and working with communities on site are mentioned as useful teaching methods to support knowing-in-action, reflection-in-action and reflection on reflecting-in-action, although the limitation of the pedagogic mechanisms concerning curriculum and course management, such as, inadequate time, staff and safety, needed to be addressed. Moreover, by collaborating and inviting experienced community architects to help teach in an alternative architectural course, this could be a process of learning from the reflection on reflection-in-action of the practitioners. At the same time, it is important for the architectural schools themselves to conduct evaluations of their alternative courses concerning the effectiveness of their teaching contents and pedagogy, gaining feedback from their students and staff. Finally, group-working, conducting more open-mined and reflective design studio, collaborating short-term workshops with other partners, teaching and focusing on a few modules per semester, providing more alternative modules related to the new architectural content are mentioned as useful teaching tools and techniques. Future studies can be drawn on these alternative pedagogic mechanisms and their constraints concerning different obstacles of the alternative architectural education as mentioned in Chapter 9.

In conclusion, it is argued that the 'new architectural discipline' comprises the new architectural professionalism and the alternative architectural education. The figure below suggests some basic steps to expand the boundary of conventional architectural practice in

order to be more responsive to the great challenges posed by informal settlements, which are the major built environment in most developing countries. The attempt to draw a ‘snakes and ladders’ is to acknowledge that the process of encouraging social changes is not linear. There are unpredictable factors obstructing the way. At the same time, supporting interventions can help push the process forward. While ‘snakes’ represent the examples of challenges and barriers to the new architectural discipline, ‘ladders’ represent examples of creative interventions supporting the scaling up of the alternative architectural discipline. It is important to note that ‘snakes’ and ‘ladders’ are interrelated, i.e. the lack of appropriate interventions is another form of a barrier and the transformation of negative barriers into positive interventions could act as a supportive and catalytic factor to scale up the new architectural discipline. The researcher argues that a number of supportive and catalytic interventions can be encouraged to take place simultaneously by different groups of agents who encompass different disciplines. Future studies can explore to what extent interventions and barriers from one discipline affect the others.

Figure 10-4: ‘Snakes and Ladders’ for the New Architectural Discipline



Rules

- More than one player is preferable and the players are encouraged to all play at the same time.
- In the blank boxes with the “?”, players are not allowed to move until a new creative intervention is designed and implemented.
- Knowing-in-action, reflection-in-action and reflection on each the actions are compulsory for every move.
- Balancing the professionalism of architects, educators and researchers as provider, supporter and catalyst is key in every design intervention.
- To integrate “Social Justice Snakes and Ladders for Architectural Discipline” with “Social Justice Snakes and Ladders” for other disciplines is preferable.

Thailand has come far in moving towards Target 11 of the international Millennium Development Goals which aims to achieve a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. The government has clearly supported scaling up, scaling out and political will to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. Moreover, the practice of CODI and CASE architects who try to integrate 'participation' and 'empowerment' in their architectural practice in an *ad hoc* manner without being officially trained from architectural school can be studied as an excellent example of the new architectural professionalism.

This research shapes one of the very first steps of the alternative architectural discipline by addressing, understanding and challenging the boundaries between the three roles of architects and educators. In addition, it identifies barriers obstructing the integration of the alternative architectural education with conventional architectural education. It contributes to shape the new architectural professionalism based on the reflection on the practice of Thai community architects. It is open for debates whether the 'new architectural professionalism' and 'alternative architectural education' are 'new' or merely the extensions of existing architectural professionalism and education, as a great deal of knowledge and skills of the conventional architectural practice remain relevant. However, it is important to emphasize that if the architects' values do not embrace participation and empowerment, this 'new architectural discipline' can hardly be achieved. More research on exploring the new architectural professionalism in different contexts and future studies focusing on identifying more specific participatory design tools and techniques and the comparison between different methods in different contexts could be useful for the future practice. More analysis in terms of architectural curriculum reform could be conducted in order to propose changes in conventional architectural education at the structural level. Various topics related to the new architectural knowledge as illustrated in Table 10-1 could be explored further through site visits and learning from informal settlements. This could be useful for shaping optional architectural modules for undergraduate and postgraduate courses which are relevant for producing the new type of community architects.

In the end, the researcher hopes that this research will be a useful basis for other researchers, architects, educators, practitioners of other disciplines, governmental and civil-society agencies who are interested in challenging their role as 'expert' and who share the belief that each person and each discipline has a role to play in impacting social change in their very own way.

Appendix 1

Photo Analysis

1. Images of the livelihoods of the urban poor in the urban areas of Thailand (the 1st - 3rd photos are from www.ibiza-bangkok.com and the rest are from www.NPX-Photo.com)

2. Images of slums and the city (the 5th photo is from www.aitaiwan.org, the 6th photo is from www.hiromiyazawa.com and the rest are taken by the researcher)

3. Images of the houses of the Thai urban poor, focusing on informal materials used and construction

4. Images of the houses of the urban poor which focused on the space-use – private, semi-private, semi-public and public space

Appendix 2

Details of Interviewees

No.	Code	Sex	Age	Study Population Types	Organizations/ Project	Note
1	NHA01	F	35	Architects	NHA	Working architect from the Unit 4
2	NHA02	M	52	Architects	NHA	Head of a division under the Unit 4
3	NHA03	M	35	Architects	NHA	Working architect from the Unit 4
4	NHA04	F	35	Architects	NHA	Working architect from the Unit 4
5	NHA05	M	38	Architects	NHA	Working architect from the Unit 2
6	NHA06	M	38	Architects	NHA	Working architect from the Unit 2
7	NHA07	M	57	Architects	NHA	The head of the Unit 1
8	NHA08	M	N/A	Architects	NHA	The head of the Unit 3
9	NHA09	F	54	Architects	NHA	Senior architect from the Unit 3
10	NHA10	M	54	Architects	NHA	Senior architect from the Unit 1
11	NHA11	M	56	Architects	NHA	Senior architect from the Unit 2
12	NHA12	M	59	Architects	NHA	Head of a division under the Unit 2
13	NHA13	M	N/A	Architects	NHA	Senior engineer, who is the head of a division under the Unit 3
14	CODI01	M	40	Architects	CODI	Senior architect from the main office
15	CODI02	M	27	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Central Region Unit
16	CODI03	F	25	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Central Region Unit
17	CODI04	F	24.5	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Bangkok Metropolitan Unit
18	CODI05	M	28	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Bangkok Metropolitan Unit
19	CODI06	F	25	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Bangkok Metropolitan Unit
20	CODI07	M	27	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Southern Region Unit
21	CODI08	M	27.5	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Northern Region Unit

No.	Code	Sex	Age	Study Population Types	Organizations/ Project	Note
22	CODI09	M	36	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Northern Region Unit
23	CODI10	M	25.5	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Central Region Unit
24	CODI11	M	29	Architects	CODI	Working architect from the Central Region Unit
25	CASE01	M	29	Architects	CASE	Senior working architect
26	CASE02	F	29.5	Architects	CASE	Working architect
27	CASE03	F	39	Architects	CASE	The founder of the CASE
28	CASE04	M	27	Architects	CASE	Working architect
29	CASE05	M	28	Architects	CASE	Working architect
30	CASE06	M	31	Architects	CASE	Working architect
31	CASE07	M	34	Architects	CASE	The former CASE architect
32	NHAPJ01	M	35	Clients	NHAPJ	Cooperative member
33	NHAPJ02	F	52	Clients	NHAPJ	Cooperative member
34	NHAPJ03	M	49	Clients	NHAPJ	Not a cooperative member
35	NHAPJ04	F	40	Clients	NHAPJ	Not a cooperative member
36	NHAPJ05	F	40	Clients	NHAPJ	Cooperative member
37	NHAPJ06	M	38	Clients	NHAPJ	Not a cooperative member
38	NHAPJ07	M	56	Clients	NHAPJ	Cooperative member, a part of the cooperative committee, and the community leader
39	NHAPJ08	F	40	Clients	NHAPJ	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative committee
40	NHAPJ09	F	55	Clients	NHAPJ	Not a cooperative member
41	NHAPJ10	F	47	Clients	NHAPJ	Cooperative member
42	NHAPJ11	F	23	Clients	NHAPJ	Not a cooperative member
43	NHAPJ12	F	28	Clients	NHAPJ	Not a cooperative member
44	NHAPJ13	M	31	Clients	NHAPJ	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative committee

No.	Code	Sex	Age	Study Population Types	Organizations/ Project	Note
45	NHAPJ14	F	53	Clients	NHAPJ	Not a cooperative member
46	CODIPJ101	F	49	Clients	CODIPJ01	Cooperative member, not a part of any committee, an active senior community member
47	CODIPJ102	F	70	Clients	CODIPJ01	Cooperative member, not a part of any committee, an active senior community member
48	CODIPJ103	M	55	Clients	CODIPJ01	Cooperative member and not a part of any committee
49	CODIPJ104	F	43	Clients	CODIPJ01	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative/community committee
50	CODIPJ105	M	36	Clients	CODIPJ01	Cooperative member, a part of the cooperative/community committee, and the community leader
51	CODIPJ106	F	51	Clients	CODIPJ01	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative/community committee
52	CODIPJ 201	M	40	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member, a part of the cooperative committee, and the community leader
53	CODIPJ 202	M	56	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative committee
54	CODIPJ 203	F	42	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative committee
55	CODIPJ 204	F	36	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative committee
56	CODIPJ 205	F	60	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative committee
57	CODIPJ 206	F	44	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and not a part of the cooperative committee
58	CODIPJ 207	M	53	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative committee
59	CODIPJ 208	M	58	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and not a part of the cooperative committee
60	CODIPJ 209	F	54	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and not a part of the cooperative committee
61	CODIPJ 210	M	48	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative committee
62	CODIPJ 211	F	26	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and not a part of the cooperative committee
63	CODIPJ 212	F	43	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and not a part of the cooperative committee
64	CODIPJ 213	M	N/A	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative committee
65	CODIPJ 214	F	39	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and not a part of the cooperative committee
66	CODIPJ 215	F	33	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and not a part of the cooperative committee
67	CODIPJ 216	F	56	Clients	CODIPJ02	Cooperative member and not a part of the cooperative committee

No.	Code	Sex	Age	Study Population Types	Organizations/ Project	Note
68	CASEPJ01	M	72	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative/community committee
69	CASEPJ02	F	50	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative/community committee
70	CASEPJ03	M	50	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member, a part of the cooperative/community committee, and the community leader
71	CASEPJ04	F	65	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member and not a part of any committee
72	CASEPJ05	F	44	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member and not a part of any committee
73	CASEPJ06	F	42	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative/community committee
74	CASEPJ07	M	44	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member and not a part of any committee
75	CASEPJ08	F	42	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member and a part of the cooperative/community committee
76	CASEPJ09	F	70	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member and not a part of any committee
77	CASEPJ10	F	41	Clients	CASEPJ	Cooperative member and not a part of any committee
78	EDUCU01	M	41	Educators	CU	The head of the Architecture Department
79	EDUCU02	M	59	Educators	CU	Lecturer from the Housing Development Department
80	EDUCU03	F	41	Educators	CU	Lecturer from the Urban Planning Department
81	EDUCU04	M	N/A	Educators	CU	Lecturer from the Urban Planning Department
82	EDUCU05	F	48	Educators	CU	The head of the Housing Development Department
83	EDUCU06	F	58	Educators	CU	The dean of the faculty, from the Architecture Department
84	EDUCU07	M	60	Educators	CU	Lecturer from the Urban Design Department
85	EDUSU01	F	40	Educators	SU	Lecturer from the Architecture Department
86	EDUSU02	M	N/A	Educators	SU	The dean of the faculty, from the Architecture Department
87	EDUSU03	F	38	Educators	SU	The head of the Architecture Department
88	EDUSU04	M	N/A	Educators	SU	Lecturer from the Urban Design and Planning Department
89	EDUSU05	M	N/A	Educators	SU	Lecturer from the Urban Design and Planning Department
90	EDUSU06	M	54	Educators	SU	Lecturer from the Architecture Department

No.	Code	Sex	Age	Study Population Types	Organizations/ Project	Note
91	EDUSU07	M	50	Educators	SU	Lecturer from the Related Arts in Architecture Department
92	KEY01-CODIdirector	F	N/A	Selected experts	CODI	CODI director
93	KEY02-CODIconsultant	M	58	Selected experts	CODI	*Baan Mankong Programme* consultant, who is an architectural lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture, Khon Kaen University
94	KEY03-CODISuanPlooArch	F	N/A	Selected experts	CODI	A well-known commercial architect who was invited to finalize a community design for CODIPJ02
95	KEY04-CODIorganizer1	M	41	Selected experts	CODI	CODI social organizer
96	KEY05-CODIorganizer2	F	31	Selected experts	CODI	CODI social organizer
97	KEY06-NHAresearcher	M	55	Selected experts	NHA	NHA senior researcher
98	KEY07-NHAPJorganizer	M	36	Selected experts	NHA	NHA social organizer
99	KEY08-NHAPJstaff1	F	31	Selected experts	NHA	Local staff of the NHAPJ
100	KEY09-NHAPJstaff2	F	35	Selected experts	NHA	Local staff of the NHAPJ
101	KEY10-ACTpresident	M	N/A	Selected experts	ACT	President of the ACT
102	KEY11-ASApresident	M	56	Selected experts	ASA	President of the ASA
103	Key12- MSUdean	F	64	Selected experts	MSU	The dean of the Faculty of Architecture Urban Design and Creative Arts
104	KEY13- MSUlecturer1	M	32	Selected experts	MSU	Lecturer from the Urban Design Department
105	KEY14- MSUlecturer2	M	39	Selected experts	MSU	Lecturer from the Urban Design Department
106	KEY15-SPUlecturer1	F	48	Selected experts	SPU	Lecturer from the Faculty of Architecture
107	KEY16-SPUlecturer2	M	43	Selected experts	SPU	Lecturer from the Faculty of Architecture
108	KEY17-Arsomsilp	M	56	Selected experts	ASIR	The co-founder of the ASIR

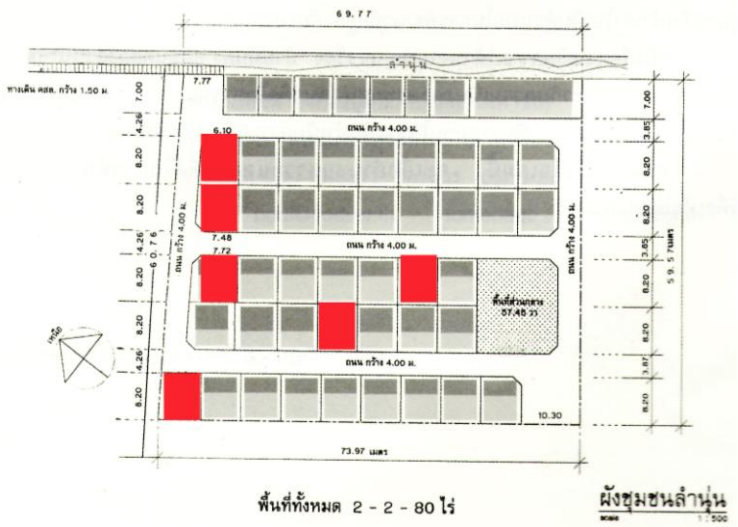
Appendix 3

Community Maps

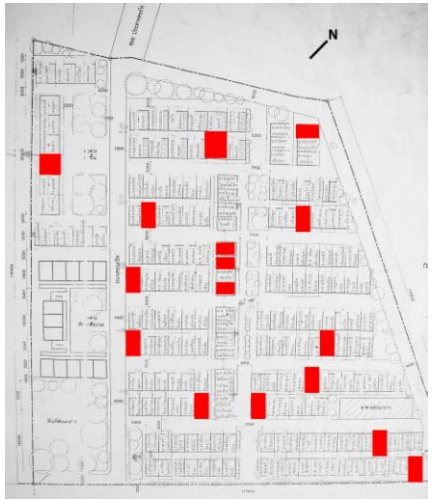
Interviewed households

1. NHA: *Baan Eua Arthorn Rangsit Klong 3 Community* (NHAPJ)

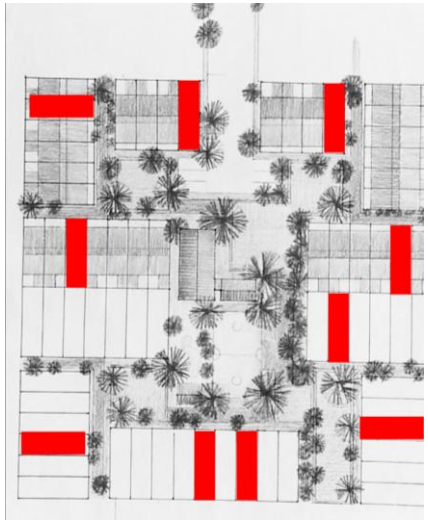
2. CODI: *Baan Mankong Klong Lumnoon Community* (CODIPJ01)



3. CODI: *Baan Mankong Suan Phlu Pattana Community* (CODIPJ02)



4. CASE: *Arkarn Songkhroa Community* (CASEPJ)



Appendix 4

An Example of Interview Guidelines for the Research Semi-structure Interviews

……

Interview Guidelines for NHA Architects

Code:

Date:

Venue:

Time:

General Background

1. Name:
2. Gender:
3. Organization:
4. Age:
5. Income:
6. Position:
7. Education:

Questions: Practice

8. Why did you choose to work for the NHA? How long have you been working here? What kind and how many projects did you do?
9. What is the main objective of the Baan Eua-Arthorn Programme? Who is the target group? How do you select them?
10. Do you work alone or as a team? Who are your team? What are your and their roles?
11. How do you start the project (within the Baan Eua-Arthorn Programme)? What information is needed?
12. How do you get 'information' (of what the urban poor 'really' want / of how they are)? Do you communicate with the urban poor? What are the 'tools'? Please give some examples.
13. How long does a project take? How often do you visit the site?
14. How do you design a community site plan?
15. How can your design response to the needs of an individual and of a community?
16. How do you deal with the heterogeneous – ethnic, gender, age, religions, income, etc. – within a community?
17. To what extent can the urban poor adapt the space?
18. Where did the design of the prototypes come from? What do you think about them? Any ideas on how the design of the prototypes should be improved?
19. How to improve the Baan Eua Arthorn programme? Is there any problem?
20. What gets in the way of practicing? What make it so difficult sometimes? What are your strategies to overcome them?
21. What is your most favourite part of this work? Tell me your favourite story.

22. What is your least favourite part of this work? What do you want to see changing or happening?
23. Is there anything you would like to improve yourself?
24. What did you learn from working with communities – values, knowledge, skills wise? Any change?
25. To what extent can 'architecture' improve lives of the urban poor?
26. What are the key qualifications of an architect to work with the urban poor – values, knowledge, skills wise?
27. What do you think about the works of the others (CASE, CODI, NHA architects)? Is there any link between you? Any similarities and differences?
28. What do you think about 'participation' in design for the urban poor housing solutions?
29. Photo analysis: Showing the four sets of photos (see Appendix I)
    - What do you think? How do you feel?
    - What do you see as problems? What do you see as opportunities? What should be done?
    - Is there anything in the images related to your architectural programme / a brief for an architectural project? In other words, to what extent do you think it is related to your role as an architect? Why and how?

Questions: Education

30. What are your references of ideas in practice? For example, former education, special trainings, academic sources (books and journals), non-academic sources (books, films, art, music, etc.), everyday conversations with their colleagues and clients, experiences from previous practice, etc.
31. Did you study about slums and how to design for the urban poor in your schools?
32. How were the study core and teaching tools and techniques? What did you learn? How did you feel when you were studying?
33. Have your architectural education been useful to your practice as an architect designing for the urban poor? How?
34. To what extent do you think the way you work is different from mainstream architects and the community architects? To what extent do you think there is a need for a different kind of education for training architects designing for the urban poor?
35. How to improve the existing core modules of an architectural curriculum – design studio, construction and materials, history, urban planning, construction management, presentation skills, etc. – to make it more relevant to the practice of an architect designing for the urban poor? Any subject or skill should be added?
36. What do you think will be the constraints and challenges of alternative architectural education – personal, professional, educational, and institutional constraints? In other words, what do you think is the reason why we do not talk about slum issues, participation from the urban poor, and community architects in our architectural school? Any strategy to overcome them?
37. Is there anything I should have asked? Is there anything you want to say?

Interview Guidelines for CASE and CODI Architects

Code:

Date:

Venue:

Time:

General Background

1. Name:
2. Gender:
3. Organization:
4. Age:
5. Income:
6. Position:
7. Education:

Questions: Practice

8. What did you do before becoming a community architect?
9. Why did you choose to work as a community architect? Why did you choose to work for the organization?
10. How long have you been working as a community architect? What kind and how many projects did you do?
11. What is the main objective of the *Baan Mankong* Programme? Who is the target group? How do you select them?
12. Do you work alone or as a team? Who are your team? What are your and their roles?
13. How do you start a project? What information is needed? Who and how do you approach? Please give some examples.
14. How do you get 'information' (of what the urban poor 'really' want)? How do you communicate with the urban poor? What are the 'tools'? Please give some examples.
15. What does 'participation' mean to your practice as a community architect? What does 'participation' bring to your design? (Why participation?)
16. When should the urban poor participate?
17. How do the urban poor participate in your design? Please give some examples. Please tell me about your participatory design tools and techniques used and their constraints.
18. How long does a project take? How often do you visit the site? What happen when you left?
19. How to balance the end-product and the process?
20. How can a collective design (as a community) response to the needs of an individual? (Whose participation for whom?)
21. How do you deal with the heterogeneous – ethnic, gender, age, religions, income, etc. – within a community, conflicts, and different needs of people involved? How do you get things move forward under conflictive situations?
22. How to balance your initiation, design, plans and guidelines with the input from the local?
23. How can a community development project give an impact at scale?
24. How to improve the *Baan Mankong* programme?
25. What gets in the way of practicing? What make it so difficult sometimes? What are your strategies to overcome them?
26. What is your most favourite part of this work? Tell me your favourite story.
27. What is your least favourite part of this work? What do you want to see changing or happening?
28. Is there anything you would like to improve yourself?

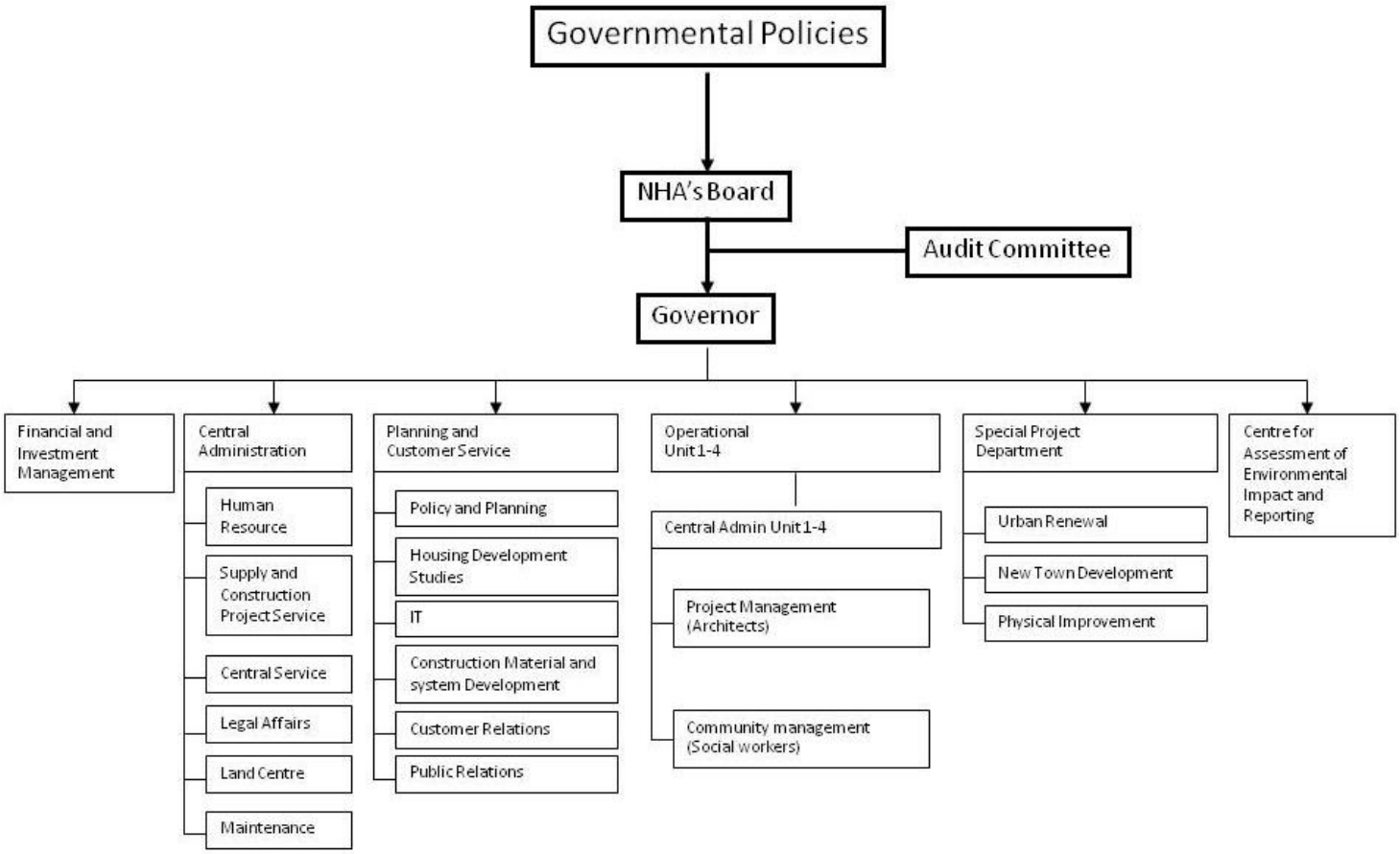
29. What did you learn from working with communities – values, knowledge, skills wise? Any change?
30. To what extent can 'architecture' improve lives of the urban poor?
31. What are the key qualifications of an architect to work with the urban poor – values, knowledge, skills wise?
32. What do you think about the works of the others (CASE, CODI, NHA architects)? Is there any link between you? Any similarities and differences?
33. Photos analysis: Showing the four sets of photos (see Appendix I)
    - What do you think? How do you feel?
    - What do you see as problems? What do you see as opportunities? What should be done?
    - Is there anything in the images related to your architectural programme / a brief for an architectural project? In other words, to what extent do you think it is related to your role as an architect? Why and how?

Questions: Education

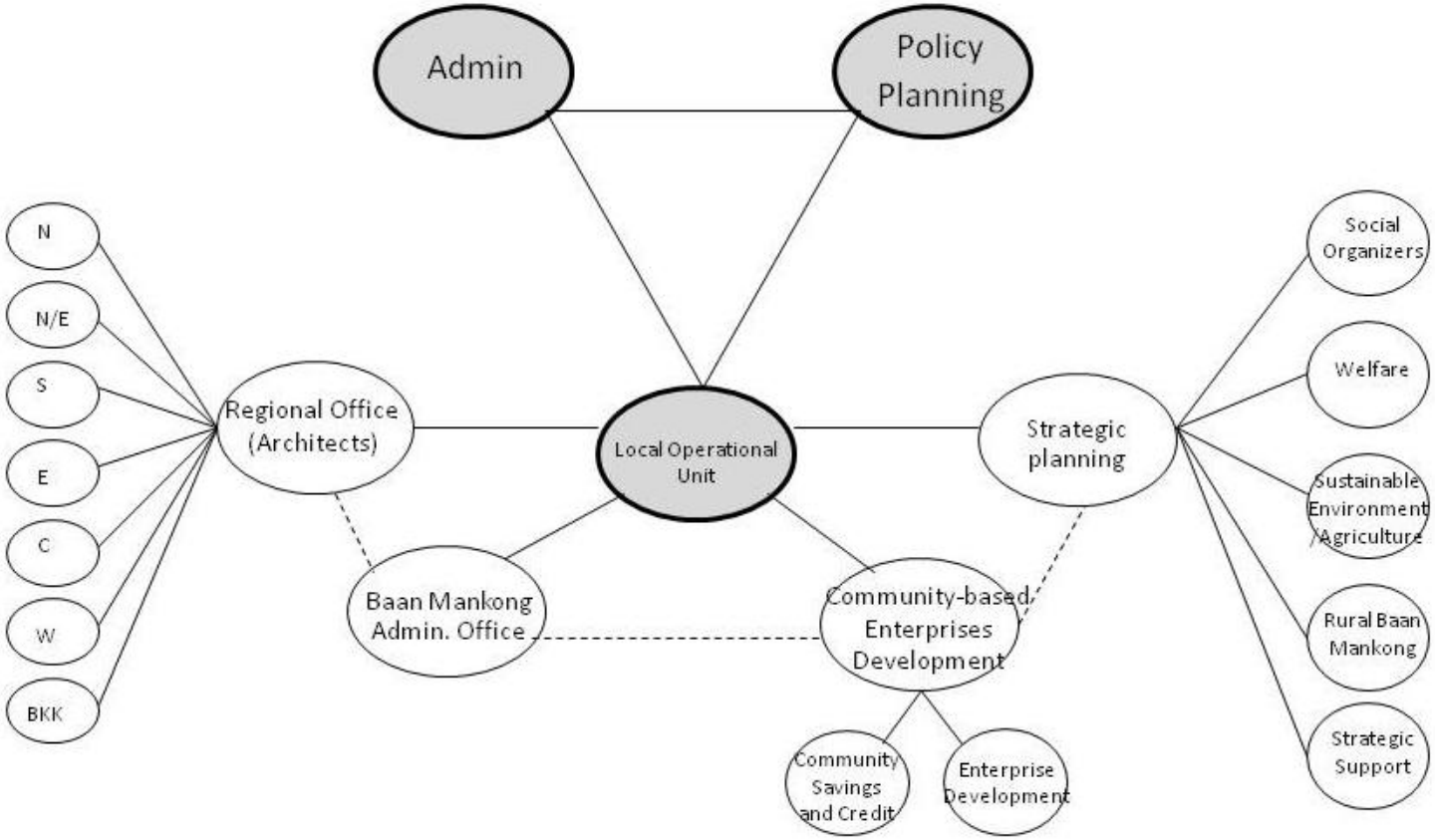
34. What are your references of ideas in practice? For example, former education, special trainings, academic sources (books and journals), non-academic sources (books, films, art, music, etc.), everyday conversations with their colleagues and clients, experiences from previous practice, etc.
35. Did you study about slums and how to design with the urban poor in your schools? Have you been trained from any special training programme or workshop before start practicing? How was it? Was it useful? Was it different from what you learned from schools?
36. How were the study core and teaching tools and techniques? What did you learn? How did you feel when you were studying?
37. Have your architectural education been useful to your practice as a community architect? How?
38. To what extent do you think the way you work is different from commercial architects? To what extent do you think there is a need for a different kind of education for training community architects?
39. How to improve the existing core modules of an architectural curriculum – design studio, construction and materials, history, urban planning, construction management, presentation skills, etc. – to make it more relevant to the practice of a community architect? Should any subject or skill be added?
40. How to balance the focus on the 'process' and the 'end-product' of design learning in a classroom?
41. To what extent can participation enrich architectural practice and education?
42. What do you think will be the constraints and challenges of alternative architectural education – personal, professional, educational, and institutional constraints? Any strategy to overcome them?
43. Is there anything I should have asked and did not do? Is there anything you want to say?

Appendix 5

NHA Organization Structure

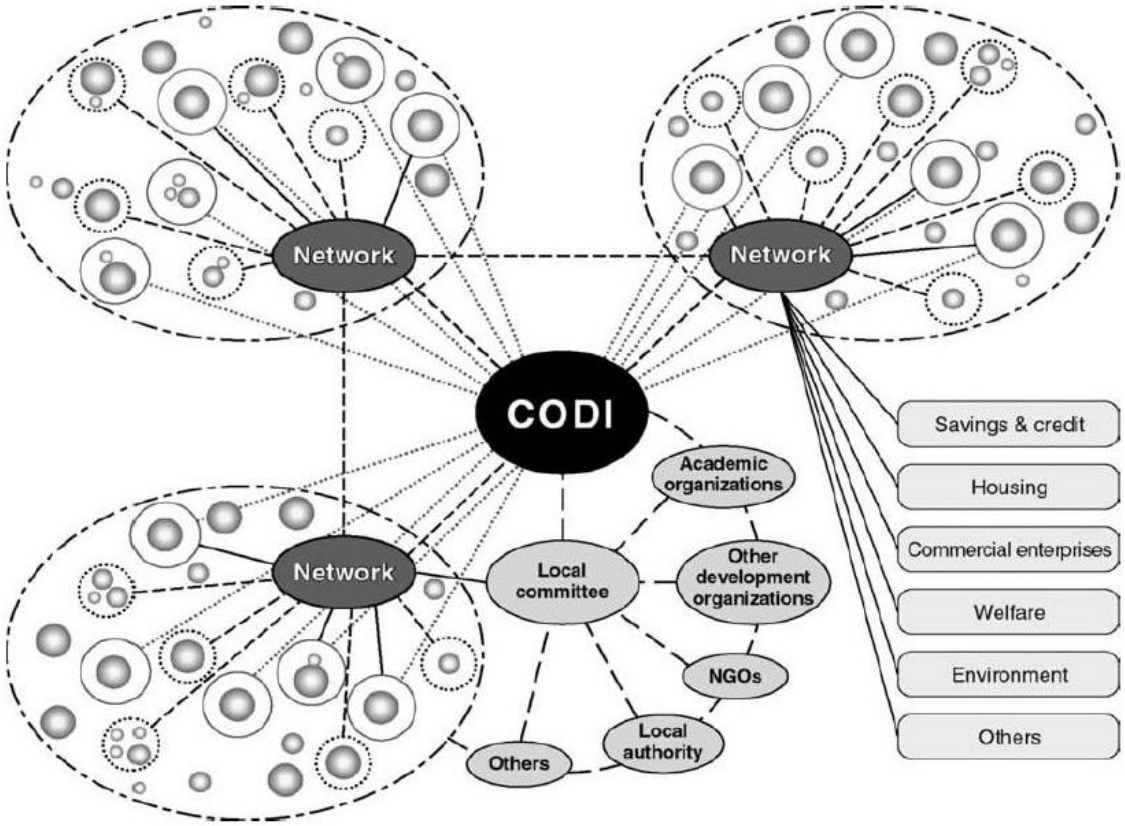


CODI Organization Structure



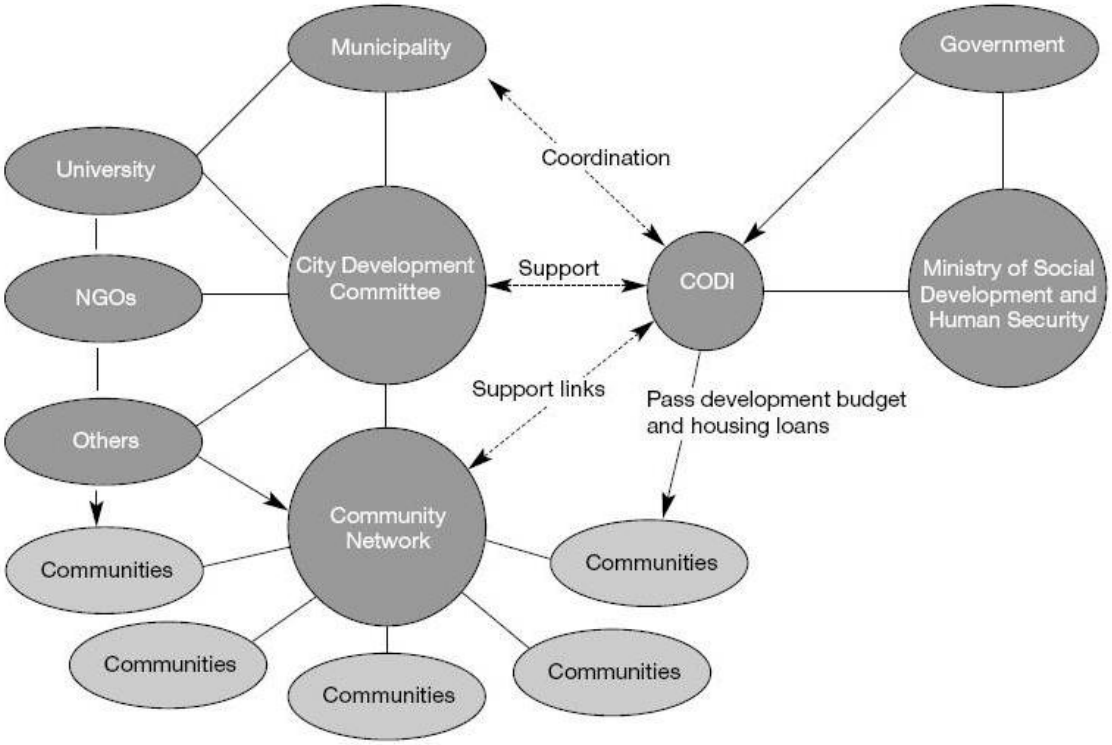
Source: Adapted from CODI Annual Report 2005

How CODI Links Groups Together



Source: Boonyabancha, S. (2003), "A Decade of Change: From the Urban Community Development Office (UCDO) to the Community Organizations Development Institute (CODI) in Thailand", IIED Working paper 12 on Poverty Reduction in Urban Areas, p25

***Baan Mankong* Programme Mechanism**



Source: Boonyabancha, S. (2005), "Baan Mankong: going to scale with "slum" and squatter upgrading in Thailand", Environment & Urbanization, Vol 17, No.1, p32

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